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REPORT

on

THE JAPAN MISSIONS

of the

Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions,

by

ROBERT E. SPEER,

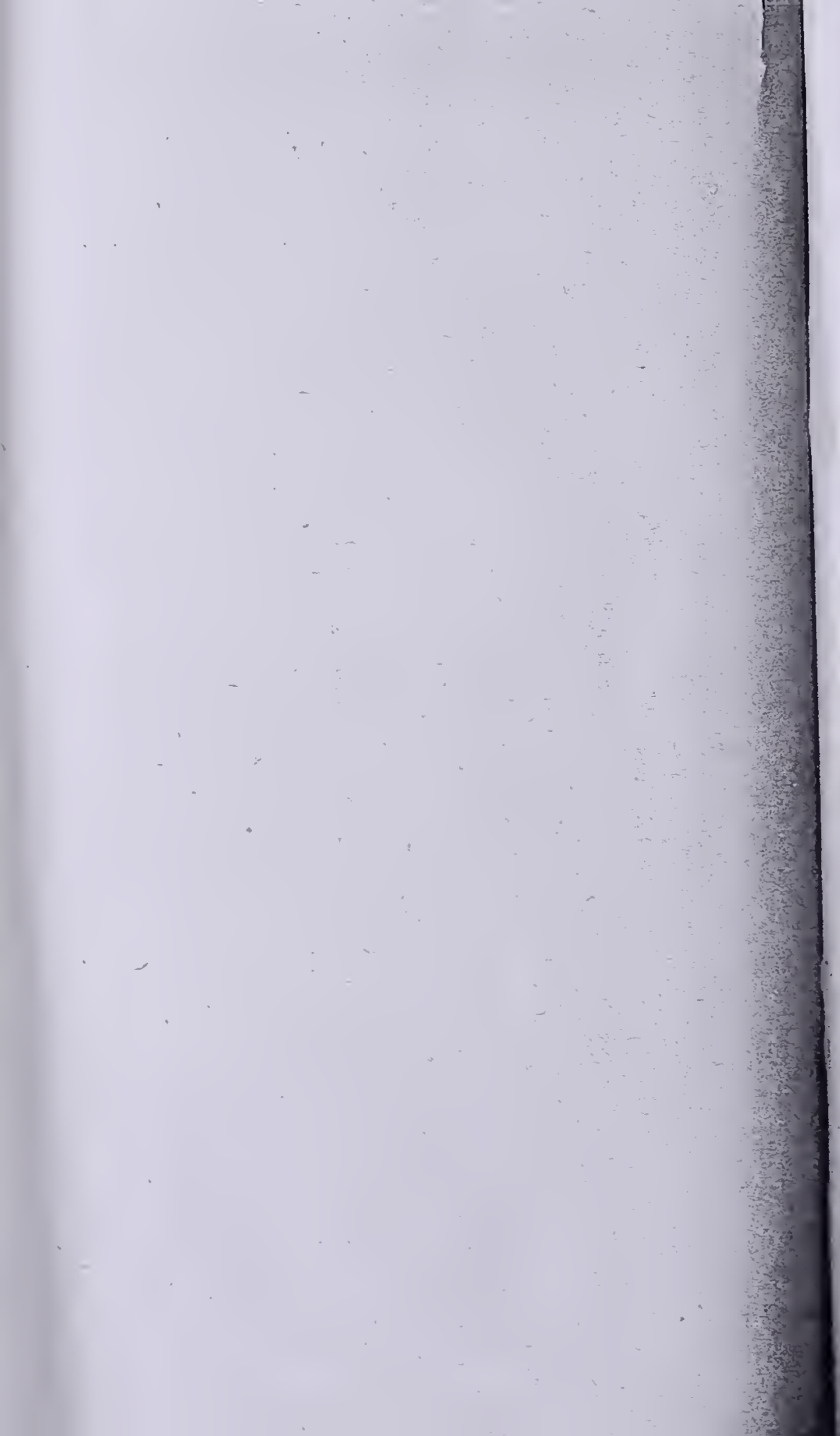
Secretary.

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The Board of Foreign Missions  
of the  
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## *I. Introduction.*

I submit herewith my report on my visit to the East and West Japan Missions. The month of July was spent in this way. In company with Mr. Grant, we visited Nagasaki, Shimonoseki, Yamaguchi, Hiroshima, Kobe, Osaka, Kyoto, Yokohama, Tokyo, and attended for ten days the meeting of the Council of Missions co-operating with the Church of Christ, at Karuizawa. At Kobe we happily met the annual meeting of the American Board and Southern Presbyterian Missions, and the council at Karuizawa was said to have been the largest and most thorough meeting of the Council ever held.

Japan is in such a state of constant flux that a report on its condition is hazardous. The present situation is settled in scarcely any department, and the problems on which I must specially report are by no means solved yet. They have their roots, however, in a history that needs to be traced before it becomes obscured, and the positions which they have now reached may be sharply defined. They must be defined, however, in their relations to each other, for all of the main questions, relations to the native Church, self-support, education, evangelization and comity are interlocked in vital ways.



## *II. Present Condition of People and Church.*

That these questions may be better understood, a sketch of the present condition and temper of the people and the Christian Church is desirable.

A member of one of the legations said to me, "We have always had confidence in the statesmen who really guide Japan, and nothing has occurred to shake our confidence in them. They are level-headed, sober and modest, knowing that they have a great deal to learn, plenty of necessary growth before them and a big problem on their hands." That these men make their mistakes of judgment, including moral judgment, is natural, but those who have the best opportunity to judge, believe that they want to do what in the courts of civilization would be regarded as honorable and right. Such testimony should be accepted. And in a sense, these men are the real Japan. They are the authoritative voice of the country to the nations without, and they guide and restrain as well as they can the nation within. But



in a sense they are not the real Japan, and they are scarcely at all the Japan with which the mission movement deals. It is not their spirit specially that needs to be understood in order to grasp the real position of missions. Neither is it the spirit of the great mass of the people, seven-eighths of whom live in villages or towns of less than 20,000 population, and the vast majority of whom are unaffected by the rapid ebb and flow of public opinion, and retain the simple olden spirit. To the extent to which the Missions or missionaries are at work among the greatly preponderating village population, the last census reporting 14,765 such villages, are they comparatively free from the capricious whims of variable popular sentiment.

The class that is constantly expressing itself on the platform and in the press and that in public and private life constitutes the Japan that is seen and felt and dealt with is between these extremes. It is broken up into parties and schools, but it can be broadly characterized. (1) Industrialism is undoubtedly the keynote of Japan's present spirit. At first western civilization seemed to consist in the external forms, and these were absorbed. Then it was thought to lie in education and religion, and it was held that only as a Christian nation would Japan be admitted to the circle of civilization. Then political institutions must be adapted to those of the West. Armaments and the spirit of war followed, and the secret was supposed to lie in them, but at last the real basis of civilization has been found, and without surrendering any of her other discoveries except her desire for the foreign religion, she has launched out into commercialism with an energy and enthusiasm that are marvelous. The following table will show the rapid growth of her foreign trade:

	Exports.	Imports.
1886. . . . . yen,	47,998,007	yen, 37,568,454
1889. . . . . "	69,426,081	" 66,173,398
1892. . . . . "	90,480,534	" 75,903,207
1895. . . . . "	135,065,180	" 138,497,561

The increase of machinery is most interesting. In 1886, the value of machinery imported was yen 1,330,000; in 1890, 6,940,000; in 1895, 13,630,000. In 1884, there were 392 pieces of machinery with 1,105 horse power. In 1891, 2,792 with 29,493 horse power, and in 1895, 4,989 with 61,252 horse power. More trade and manufacture have meant more money and higher prices. Taking the scale of prices prevailing in January, 1887, as the standard, as 100, the increase may be shown by saying that the average for 1887 was 103; in 1889, 112; in 1891, 109; in 1893, 119; in 1895, 135; in 1897, 153. Prices are rising still higher under the gold standard. Before we left, the advance had been such in Tokyo that a yen bought only five or six pounds of rice in Tokyo, when

a year ago it bought eight or nine, and coal which cost 7.50 had advanced in the same time to 12.50. "The predominant trait of the day is individualism," said a leading Japanese in one of our conferences, "the aristocracy of money. The trader used to be despised. He was below the artisan and the farmer. Now in the estimation of the people the great merchant is above officials." "The spirit of money worship is our most formidable foe," said another. "The people are mad for money, to spend on food, drink and pleasure. We are becoming a grasping nation." "No," said others, "the nation sees that wealth is the secret of national power and that manufacture and trade are the secret of wealth. We would be a great nation. To be a great nation, we must be rich." This materialistic spirit is dominant. It affects the question of self-support obviously and it woos young men away from the humble service of Christ. It even makes it difficult for the government to recruit the police service. This spirit received such expression as this while we were in Japan: "There is nothing that country (America) is unable to buy or undertake to do from the lack of funds. Their eyes are widely open to money making, to them money making is the standard of everything. Carlyle's sarcasm on the English people, 'whose hell is the want of money or the failure to make money', is very true of the American people and there is a certain charm in that. They are eager to make money and enrich the country, hence there are magnificent educational and charitable institutions and industrial progress. Doubtless it is this money-making spirit that made America what it is now. \* \* The Japanese spirit of looking ahead and grasping the newest things in the world cannot be satisfied elsewhere so well as in America. To-day, whichever way we may turn, we can see the influence of American progress stamped in the Japanese material civilization. Then remembering this fact, if Americans will concentrate their interest, time and money that they have to spare to Japan, in the industrial, commercial and agricultural lines, they will give a lasting and permanent influence to Japan, and one that will be more beneficial to them than the missionaries' attempt to save souls and to give them the promise of bliss in heaven hereafter." It will be seen that the missionaries are not the only American influence at work in Japan. It is interesting to note also that the writer of these boldly materialistic lines, Watari Kitashima, was nourished in the bosom of the American Church, having been graduated, as *The Far East* states, from Allegheny College and the Meadville Theological Seminary of the Methodist Church, where he got the degree of Ph. D., and then having studied metaphysics in Harvard for three years, after which he was pastor of several Unitarian churches in America. The dollar is to be the new deity of Japan. The long talk about an eclectic and adapted religion, the freshest child of progress, seems at last to have come to fruition.

charge. The army now numbers nearly 300,000, and the plan is to double it by 1902 and to have the navy doubled by 1906. The Chinese indemnity is being used for this. How rapidly the force of military officials is developing, may be seen from this table:

	General & Superior Officers	Officers.	Sub-Officers.	Students in Military Schools.
1890 .....	551	3,491	9,628	1,916
1891.....	595	3,587	10,581	1,879
1892 .....	643	3,715	11,704	2,084
1893 .....	689	3,870	13,036	2,182
1894.....	737	4,911	17,240	2,262
1895.....	965	5,729	21,140	2,397

(4) As to anti-foreign feeling, opinions differ. Some point to the indignation felt at the time Japan was obliged to retrocede the Liao-tung peninsula and to the waves of protest periodically sweeping through the press. And they find evidence everywhere of insolence and studied insult to foreigners. Others find no such evidence, point to the revision of the treaties and to the increasing trade, and the growing feeling of self-confidence and self-respect which are the best guarantee of a cordial attitude toward others. Men see in this as in other things what they are most capable of seeing, and communities differ. One notices that the jinricksha men are impudent, that the school children jostle him on the street, that the officials are becoming unbearable. Another reports that feeling was never more kindly, the school children more respectful and the officials more accomodating. Our brief view formed from quick travel, sometimes in the interior, but also on the beaten routes, and without any past condition to use in comparison, would confirm the kindly and favorable view. Yet anti-foreign feeling rests either on the sense of inferiority, or on the idea that you are regarded as inferior. Both of these grounds for it are present in Japan. The *Jiji Shimpō* frankly acknowledges the first, contending that "although Japan is on the eve of being legally recognized as the equal of Western states, her equality will be practically unreal unless she seeks to assimilate not merely her codes but also her customs to those of the Occident. \* \* In so far as these customs interfere with freedom of international intercourse and the leveling of racial distinctions, they ought to be ruthlessly remodeled. \* \* Japan must make up her mind to let go the old and open her hands unreservedly to the new, imposing upon her liberalism only one restriction, namely, that of not adopting what is manifestly hurtful, or discarding what is plainly beneficial. She will have to carry her radicalism even into the field of the four great ceremonies, the kwan-kon-so-sai (coming of age, marriage, funeral rites and religious celebrations). Her own advantage is at stake. It is not a question of abandoning any revered custom in deference to foreign

opinion or foreign example. It is solely a question of abolishing everything that tends to preserve racial prejudices and thereby to handicap her in the struggle towards progress." Many have a lurking sense of the inferiority which the liberal *Jiji* so outspokenly avows. Irritation is unavoidable.

Toward civilization stripped of all personal and national relations no force in Japan save the old religions opposes itself, but toward the personal and national forms in which civilization has to be met there is and cannot help but be an unrestful feeling. For, Japan is not civilized yet. "What indeed is true civilization?" asked Chief Justice Russell, and answered at the meeting of the American Bar Association in 1896. "By its fruits you shall know it. It is not dominion, wealth, material luxury; nay, not even a great literature, and education widespread, good though these things be. Civilization is not a veneer; it must penetrate to the very heart and core of societies of men. Its true signs are thought for the poor and suffering, chivalrous regard and respect for women, the frank recognition of human brotherhood, irrespective of race or color, or nation or religion, the narrowing of the domain of mere force as a governing factor in the world, the love of ordered freedom, abhorrence of what is mean and cruel and vile, ceaseless devotion to the claims of justice." Few of these signs are evident in Japan as yet. She has become a nation of strength and position, but the change, though a real and permanent change, is not a moral and vital change yet in such a sense as to entitle the nation to be called civilized. And all comparison with other peoples shows her this or shows her that other peoples think this, which amounts to the same thing for this purpose.

In the present temper of the Japanese mind the spirit of national assertiveness is also the spirit of foreign antagonism. This was all psychological for a while, but since the war it has been translated into ships and guns and army corps. These are meaningless in Japan. The young men say they are meant for Russia and the great struggle that must come, but the spirit of the young men is very hot and precipitous in Japan. At any rate, the armies and navies are the embodiment in iron and flesh of anti-foreign feeling or of nationalism, which in Japanese temper is its synonym. It would not be strange if the feeling of antagonism died away in this manifestation of the fact.

Meanwhile, all nationalism means autonomy or independence. And independence refers to foreign authority, control or influence in any sphere. The Japanese wish to be reliant upon no one save themselves. If they are dependent, they wish to have control over that dependence. They wish to receive, but not as inferiors from a superior. There is a great deal that is manly and admirable in this, but it keeps displaying itself under aspects of bumptiousness, impatience, ingratitude, irritability, and sometimes what we should call downright dishonesty. But when we look back over thirty



colleges, with the idols so venerated, the offerings of money so profuse. Nowhere else did we meet priests so well informed, so adroit in apologetic, so well armed in advance against the points of special strength in Christianity. The sister of the Empress is the wife of a Shin Shiu Buddhist priest, and all through society the relations of the people to Buddhism are close. The social life of the nation is intershot with it, and it is working with great ingenuity, with imitation of Christian methods and with almost as great readiness to compromise and adapt as it showed thirteen hundred years ago when it came to Japan, to broaden its influence and to retain and enlarge its hold.

But the chief incentives in the Buddhist revival are found in the nationalistic feelings already described. "The religions which are back of the evils imbedded in the social life of the country are made to appear synonymous with the most sacred and time honored institutions of the land, the very basis of loyalty to the throne itself, so that any who embrace the foreign faith are substantially recreant to their country." This ground is taken especially in the interests of Shintoism. The nationalists, antagonizing the idea of individualism on the one hand as Christian and unsatisfactory, unoriental, and the idea of cosmopolitanism on the other as unpatriotic, world-love being inconsistent with patriotism, strive to revive the distinctly national cult. These three terms, individualism, nationalism, cosmopolitanism play a large part in the contemporary discussion in Japan. Some crudely set up the worship of the Emperor. This is attempted in a guarded and ambiguous way in some of the schools. The pictures of the Emperor and the Empress are in a small recess in the wall, covered over as the idols in a shrine, and the school is brought in to bow to them as the boys bow to the Confucian tablet in a heathen school in China. Others, like the influential scholar Dr. Inouye Tetsujiro, are trying to dress up Shinto philosophically and have formed an association with an organ and the purpose of striving to exercise a strong influence on the masses by the revival of the worship of Japan's ancient gods, thus saving Japan from her present great danger of losing her nationality by wholesale borrowing from other countries. The objects of this association are so illustrative of many things that I quote them briefly: "(a) The worship of the ancestors of the nation. (b) The aim of the association will in all things be publicity, openness, activity, enlightenment. (c) They will make much of this human life of ours and of its perpetuation and will discourage asceticism. (d) They will endeavor to obtain the most perfect mental development obtainable. (e) They will aim at purity and cleanliness of every kind. (f) The life of society will occupy an important place in their thoughts. (g) National consolidation will be one of their great objects. (h) Military power and skill will be held in honor. (i) They will endeavor to promote the cause of peace in every part of the world. (j) They will en-

courage friendliness of sentiment toward all men." The magazine of the new association declares "that Christian morality is considered to be demoralizing in tendency and hence must be rejected; that Buddhism encourages indifference to the things of this life and absorption of the attention on the future life, and consequently is injurious to the nation; and that Confucianism is altogether out of harmony with the spirit of the age, and therefore can lend no assistance." A revived and revised Shintoism will alone avail.

Many of these expressions of the religious views of the time are ephemeral, but they are fairly indicative of the spirit of the day. Popular opinion is without anchorage, without fixed principles. The real old religions have lost their hold on the educated, but they have been metamorphosed so as to justify their use by the educated as vantage ground from which to work for nationalism, and this use has reacted to revive the old religions in their old form among the common people. In the absence of any solid principles, those who have really lost faith in the old religions are clutching at all things. Eclecticism gone mad runs through their books and papers. All the lessons of history are thrown away, and having absolutely no guiding moral principles, men gather all sorts of truths, half-truths and falsehoods together and out of them try to work something that they can call Japanese and that will serve as that religion whose absolute necessity they are coming to see.

This diagnosis of the present spirit of Japan, qualified by the reservations already made as to the leading statesmen and the common people, could be easily disputed and a mass of counter evidence could be presented. Evidence could be gathered in favor of any view whatever of Japan. But I think this is a fairly just statement, and I have made it so fully because this is the atmosphere in which the leaders of the Japanese Church and a large portion of its members are living, and we can only properly understand and sympathize with the position of the Church as we perceive the powerful distorting influences under which its leaders have been trained and the Church has been developed. That the Church and the leaders are what they are, is a matter not for criticism but for gratitude when one remembers the spirit of commercialism, of a just desire for independence mingled with much impatience, precipitancy and irritability, of heresy, vagueness, instability and downright falsehood in morals and religion which has surrounded them and from whose influence it would be wholly unreasonable to expect that they should have been free.

(6) What, then, is the present condition of the Church? Not at all what it was prophesied by many it would be, and very disappointing to those who may have expected the fulfilment of these prophecies. It ought to be said, however, that the prophecies were most natural, and that men wholly outside the mission ranks

shared the idea that the Church in Japan had embarked on a career of unprecedented and victorious growth. Twenty years ago the churches were thronged, the missionaries were overrun and some of them almost adored, the schools were crowded, and thousands were pressing into the Church. For a while the Church doubled each three years. But it was not all a solid movement. The motives of men were not all of Christ. The real causes of the movement were not all spiritual. What they were, as the leading natives now think, is set forth in an interview with some of them, which I have written out for the Board. The availability of Christianity as a liberal influence, its connection with western civilization, the attractiveness of its ethics, the novelty of its doctrines and its methods, the necessity of its acceptance to free western intercourse, the example of the enthusiasm of the Christians and of the changed lives of real converts, the fascination of the new learning opened up in the mission schools, the high character and remarkable intelligence of the missionaries, and the fact that Christianity had at first a clear field, were the chief reasons for the tremendous leap into popularity which Christianity made. For ten years and more Christianity steadily gained ground, and then the reaction set in. The causes of the reaction were partly negative and consisted in the subsidence of the influences that lifted Christianity into favor and prominence. The pace of the people had quickened into a passion. Western civilization was discovered, as it was believed, to be independent of Christianity. The ethics of Christ lost their attractiveness naturally in a land where one of every four marriages issues in a divorce, and among a people into whose very fibre and tissue un-Christian standards and ideas have been knit and twisted and woven for centuries. The novelty wore off its doctrines and Buddhism plagiarized its methods. The supposed necessity of its acceptance to free western intercourse aroused resentment against it. The enthusiasm of the Christians began to wane as the tide became slower and the unchanged lives of supposed converts began to counterbalance the changed lives of real. Government schools, better equipped and minus Christianity, showed that the secrets of the new learning could be had unalloyed by religion. The secular charms of civilization crowded in upon Christianity, and the missionaries were at last believed when they said they were but men and brothers. So the mists were dispelled and the dream was done.

But the reasons for the reaction were by no means all negative. Two powerful positive forces came into play, rationalism and the spirit of nationalism, and the pliable Japanese character responded to them as flax lends itself to flame. A feeling grew up that it was not self-respecting to show such undignified haste in accepting Western things. "There was a sense of shame that we were exposing ourselves and our inferiority to the West," said some of them to me. There was a feeling of impatience also. be-



cause the fruits of national equality and full intercourse had not been gathered, and the new nationalism bred the spirit of independence of missionaries at a time when they were most needed and of hostility to Western things, including Christianity and excluding rationalism, at a time when native rationalism was strongest and most needed western Christianity, to counteract its deadly influence, and least needed western rationalism to make it more dangerous. But the western rationalism poured in, and Japan received it with greater enthusiasm than had greeted Christianity. The government educational system had been doing its work before it came and at once delivered itself to it body and soul. These two forces led to a complete reaction against Christianity on the part of those who had only been drawn to it externally and deprived it of its character as a popular movement.

But they did more than this. They entered the Church and emasculated the gospel of some of the leaders and corroded the spirit of others. They produced a liberalism, an indefinite talk about adapted and advanced Christianity and a general looseness which contained both the seeds and the fruition of disaster. One of the leading preachers in the Church of Christ, president of the Summer School, held in Tokyo in 1890, said in the school that "the Japanese had been taught an erroneous system of Christianity by the missionaries, that we had taught them lies (uso), and they must now go to work and study out the truth for themselves." Another of them published in a church paper, which had been receiving a subsidy from the Boards, an article on the futility of prayer.

In the Kumiai churches matters were even worse. Dr. Davis published an article in the *Advance* of December 25, 1890, warning the home Church of the spread of the liberal movement in Japan not only among the Unitarians, Universalists and Germans, but among the Congregationalist and Presbyterian Churches also. After referring to instances including one I have mentioned, he said in closing, "There is only one thing which can save disaster to our work here, a disaster so great as may astonish the religious world, and that is such a general and powerful outpouring of God's spirit as shall check these leaders in their speculations and revolutionary course and awaken the whole Church to the truth and to their responsibility, or as shall at least save the mass from error and enable them to come out and separate from it."

These were the conditions seven years ago, as the height of the reaction was setting in. Of course, there were places where it was little felt at first. There were men who moved slowly. Some of the churches did not appear to be specially affected, and many preachers held unshakenly to the old truth, but the new temper was widely permeating. What is now the condition of things?

As to the Kumiai churches, which are the most advanced and liberal of the evangelical bodies, Dr. Davis writes in a letter of



August 10, 1897: "I wrote the article (in the *Advance*, Dec. 25, 1890) in the hope that the hosts of the Lord, who were in America, would cry mightily to Him and avert the threatened danger. The article, however, created quite a storm of opposition, in Japan and in America. *The Independent* ridiculed it in an editorial note and thought I was a pessimist or had lost my balance of mind. The great revival has not come; these forces have gone on, and 'the religious world are astonished' at the result, especially to our Doshisha. \* \* \* This tremendous spiritual revulsion powerfully affects the Church in Japan every way, and must be taken into account. \* \* It will be a mistake if we \* \* conclude that because the churches have gone backward instead of forward during the last few years that minor matters are the main cause of the decline. That decline was sure to come, no matter what our polity or our policy if this wave of rationalism came." Several extracts from an article by Dr. Davis in the *Advance*, March 11, 1897, should be added: "Rationalism comes to its legitimate fruit far quicker in such a soil as Japan furnishes than in a Christian land \* \*. There is no spiritual ballast here of Christian heredity an environment to hold men's hearts right after their heads go wrong. \* \* Men whom God has used in former years to build up large churches have some of them made shipwreck of their faith, and others are denying the supernatural and doubting the personality of God. \* \* \* The old Gospel, the Gospel that Christ preached, and that Paul preached, is the only Gospel that can save the millions of the nations who know not God. Another Gospel has been preached here. Some of the Japanese leaders have told the churches that the foundations of Christianity which the missionaries have laid must all be swept away and new foundations laid: the Bible and Christ have been disparaged; the atonement denied and a humanitarian gospel preached while the infant church has been stunned and bewildered for five years not knowing what to believe. \* \* \* All (our churches) have suffered more or less from the general religious decline consequent upon the defection of the leaders and from the period of doubt and discussion through which the churches have passed but the few prosperous churches which have held their members and their interest during this trying time, and which are prosperous to-day, are those whose pastors or evangelists have held fast their faith in Christ and in God's word, and who have preached the old Gospel during these years."

No other orthodox Church has suffered nearly so severely as the Kumiai churches. Some of the small, more strictly disciplined bodies would probably say that while the general temper has been seriously felt, they had not met any grave defection. What is to be said of theological opinion in the Church of Christ with which our missionaries co-operate? Of all the Churches it has been closest to the Kumiai churches and most affected by the same

general influence, while its leaders have been strong, active men, keenly alive to the drifts of thought abroad and to the spirit of Japan. It is not improbable that the nationalistic spirit has influenced them even more than the rationalistic, while if either influence has predominated in the Kumiai churches it might be the latter. Yet, however that may be, and however powerful the temptations through which they have come, and however near some of them may have drawn to compromise or surrender, they have come through very satisfactorily. Some of them have done excellent service in standing for reasonably conservative views. On the divinity of Christ, the inspiration of the Scriptures and the need of salvation from sin I believe they are sound, and they seem to be settling down to a strong, stable position. I believe the insinuations of a Kumiai liberal, Abe Isao, in a recent article are wholly untrue as applied to these men of the Church of Christ, "The missionaries are doomed to disappointment, if they entertain the idea that they can compel their Japanese brethren to keep the same form of belief as their own. Be not flattered by thinking that your workers have the same faith as yourselves. Let these part with you pecuniarily, and then see if they are still loyal to your faith?" Many of the preachers of the Church of Christ of whom I am speaking are financially independent of the missionaries. It is not claimed that these men are all settled. Many of them are still unstable and given to compromise. Many are more addicted to what shades off into error and liberalism than to the plain, substantial Gospel. Many are still skirting all about the real Gospel in their sermons without speaking out, if indeed they have it to speak, the full, true message of God. Some new eddy may whirl in and set things all awry and adrift, but as a body they are worthy of confidence now. They are standing on good ground, and the common people of the church are not encouraging them to preach politics or Unitarianism, or "new theology" to them. They are crying out for the bread which is true bread and the drink which is true drink.

What is to be said of the membership of the Church generally? Let me give the unfavorable statement in full force. (1) In active effort there has been a great falling off. The testimony of pastors and people alike is that the old enthusiasm of personal work for the unconverted has gone. The churches have become like many churches at home. (2) Attendance at worship has diminished. The pastor of the largest church in the country, with 700 members, told me that one-third perhaps come to church. This proportion would hold generally perhaps. (3) Large schemes and projects appeal to them more than solid, quiet work. It is hard to get Christianity down to a right, substantial basis, after the old days of inflation and popularity. (4) The very poor have not been brought in, and the poor are not being reached now. Christianity laid hold of the middle class and does not always

cordially welcome those who heard the Master gladly. (5) Here and there there is a fear of over much Christianity. "I have given up one piece of work because the pastor thought it was no use to come if I was going to speak directly on Christianity," reports one worker. From almost every denomination instances could be cited of the readiness of people to compromise, putting Christianity out of schools, substituting moral talk for Scripture lessons in Sunday-schools, using Buddhist sayings instead of Bible verses on cards for Christian use. Some Christian parents refuse to have their daughters baptized because it will interfere with their marriage. (6) The spirit of reverence is often lacking, especially in connection with the sacrament of the Lord's supper. In one Methodist church, in order to avoid hurting the feelings of the unbelievers tea and bread were served at the same time that the bread and the wine were passing. (7) Solid character has not yet been developed. The training of the people has made it most difficult to introduce Christian ideas of truth and trust and honor. A Japanese viscount, a Christian, who was apparently a man of very fine spirit, and who was prominently before Christians in America, some years ago, married when he returned to Japan and within six months divorced his wife on account of consumption, and she died with a broken heart. "Do not expect too much of real Christians," wrote Dr. Davis after their withdrawal from the Doshisha, "who have come into the Christian Church without the history, the heredity or the environment which are the heritage and the ballast of the Church in Christian lands. \* \* Can we expect that a nation which has been steeped in heathenism and materialism for thousands of years, with no word in the language for person or personality, to whom the holding of anything in trust for another has been a thing unknown—can we expect men with such a heredity to look upon all questions of morals and of the rights of property just as those do who have been blessed with birth and environment in a Christian land where for hundreds of years personality and personal liberty and Christian disinterestedness and Christian altruism have been emphasized? If we do expect this we shall be disappointed, and justly."

On the other hand there have been worthy and enduring results. True and trustworthy individual characters have been developed. Workers of unqualified integrity are laboring in each Church and many of those who have come into the Church without any real experience are growing into genuine Christian life and usefulness. Numerous testimonies could be produced to show the high esteem in which Christians are held by many. "The people expect of Christians sobriety, honesty and truthfulness," said an old preacher. "None of these are expected of Buddhists. If a Christian falls and drops into drunkenness, they say, 'Humph, he has stopped being a Christian.'" The Church commands the respect at least of the country. Purified of its political entangle-



ments and taking its place as a spiritual body and force, it is becoming increasingly a company of men and women saved from their sins by Christ, believing this and ready to preach it. This is now the common testimony. "We have found it a fact," Mr. Porter reports, "that the less we compromise with those who fear that we will kill the work with too much Bible and Christian instruction, and the more of both these elements given, the greater the success." And Dr. Davis writes, "From last September 29, to June 18, I traveled over 6,000 miles in Japan touring among our churches, speaking in some of yours also, from Sendai and Migata to Shikohu and Kinshiu. I spoke 161 times in over fifty places. I would say, speaking more especially of our Congregational Churches, they have been sadly chilled, some of them are in a torpid state, very few attending church. \* \* Perhaps about one half of the Christians, whose names are on the church books, are alive and hungry for spiritual food. They realize that they have been fed on husks, and it has been a great pleasure to meet these hungry bands of Christians and give them the bread of life. They have been stunned, staggered, not knowing what to believe, and their spiritual fires have burned low, their activity has in many cases ceased, and they are looking *up*, up, I believe, to Him who can give them renewed life. There are these signs of spiritual hunger and reviving almost everywhere on the part of perhaps one half of the membership of our churches. What is needed is a general revival, an outpouring of the spirit of God, filling all our hearts."

To complete this survey two other questions should be considered. (1) What is the present position of Christianity in the popular opinion of Japan? Bible sales have greatly fallen off. The sales of all three societies, British, Scotch and American are even less than those of the American Society alone a few years ago. Some newspapers speak of the influence of Christianity as departing. The *Scikyo Shimpo* (Greek Church) expresses the opinion that Christianity has passed through three stages in this country. At first it was largely welcomed, then entirely opposed, and now it is treated with indifference, men's thoughts being absorbed by other things. The Christian ship appears to be at present stuck fast on a rock, unable to move forward or back." The papers of Buddhist and Shinto sympathies also speak slightly of it, but they keep recurring to it as though conscious that it was not to be dismissed, and resort to foul means of opposing it, one even informing its readers that "people have neither moral nor legal right to believe in Christianity." In general, the answers received to this question in Japan depend upon the range of observation. A native preacher in an inland city answered: "Christianity is unpopular. The ignorance of the people, their utter lack of spiritual ability to welcome Christianity, the total absence of the idea of sin, the language having no word for it, but only for

crime, the high moral demands of Christianity, the attitude of the government toward it as a bad thing make it so." Another inland preacher said: "Violent opposers are becoming scarce. Most people now believe that Christianity is a better religion than Buddhism or Shintoism. Many recognize that it is the universal religion, and on this account dislike it. The Church is deepening and spiritualizing, but it has lost its popular position." One missionary says: "We are cordially received everywhere. The prospects are brighter than for a long time." Another says: "'It's darkest just before the dawn.' It seems to me dark enough to presage that daylight will soon be here." To a stranger, however, it seems remarkable that a religion which numbers 38,000 members and is represented by 680 missionaries, including all women, and less than 900 native preachers and workers should be given so large a place in public discussion. Christianity is spoken of almost as it would be spoken of in the New York papers, and is reckoned with as a force as we would do in America. Japan instinctively knows that she has not done with Christianity, or at any rate that Christianity has not done with her. It will be well when she discovers this fully. It is good for a nation to recognize that there is one force that having taken hold will never let go. Only the time of convulsion is past. The days of solid, stubborn work have begun.

(2) What should be our attitude and the attitude of the Missions and their members toward the Church of Christ?

(a.) There are some who say that it can be only the attitude of suspicion. Some who know the Japanese well hold that this cannot be avoided, that it is the temper of the Japanese nation, that they do not know what implicit confidence is. That accordingly, since confidence can only be a mutual thing, no other attitude than distrust is possible. These people point to the conduct of men like the prominent preacher who was the head of the movement toward a mission in Korea, who dropped the name of "Christian" from its title, secularized its aims, and when he went to Korea to investigate, declined to have anything to do with the investigation of evangelistic work, as he was representing in his visit a non-evangelical society. These are ready to love the Japanese, and to work with them, but not to trust them. "They are not reliable," they say, "their civilization is a lacquer and they have not yet grown into Christian character." (b.) There are others who hold that we must trust the Church of Christ, that its leaders are not perfect, but they are sincere and true. It seems to me also that if we are to be of any service to the Church we must trust it, for what it is, not for what it is not. We have trusted it enough to spend much of the Lord's money on it, and it is better and purer now than it ever was. I have spoken plainly enough about its shortcomings, and I shall speak of some things in connection with the problem of organization with which, I think, we have no right to trust it, but trust it, lovingly trust it, we must.

## *The Chief Present Problems.*

The foregoing discussion was, I think, necessary to provide a proper foundation for the discussion of the chief problems of our work in Japan at the present time.

### *Relation of Missions to Church.*

The first of these is the question of the relations between the Missions and the native Church, and back of this question there is a great deal of history and some psychology. This was the course of that history. (1) From the beginning of the prosperous period, about 1872 until 1884, the functions of the Missions and of the native Church were kept distinct. The Missions carried on their own work, on their own responsibility, and while in informal ways there was constant conference with natives whose judgment was trusted, this was not organized and the natives had no formal authority over work supported by the missions. (2) "In the year 1883 or 1884," says Dr. Alexander in the historical sketch submitted herewith to the Board, "the missions at that time constituting the Council of Missions, viz., the Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed and Scotch U. P., decided to call in the Japanese helpers and ministers under their care for conference concerning matters relating to evangelistic work. For a time the Japanese brethren accordingly met with the missions and were consulted on various questions relating to the work in which they were engaged. But this plan soon came to nothing, because the Japanese felt that having no responsibility in the general administration of the work it was hardly worth while for them to be present at the meetings of the missions, and because a more definite plan of co-operation began to be talked of." (3) "The first Dendo Kyoku—or Mission Board," continues Dr. Alexander, "was organized, I think, in 1886. The Board consisted of a certain number of Japanese members elected by the Synod, and an equal number of missionaries also elected by the Synod. The Missions agreed to pay three yen for every one yen contributed by the Japanese. The duties and powers of the Board were confined practically to the collection and apportionment of funds among the Presbyteries. The administration of the work lay with Presbyterial committees. These committees were constituted precisely like the Board itself, that is to say, each committee consisted of a certain number of Japanese elected by the Presbytery, and an equal number of foreigners also elected by the Presbytery. The committee selected places, appointed workers, determined the amount of salaries, rents, etc., and arranged all the details of the work. The powers of the committee were limited only by the amount of the annual appropriations (for each), which amount was determined by the (Dendo Kyoku, or Central) Board. Of this plan it must be said, (a) That it tended toward a unification of the Church as a whole. (b) That it set the Church to work as



never before, and showed it that it was capable of accomplishing something. (c) That it did good work, as good as the Missions ever did; it worked well and with little or no friction. Indeed, the plan was so satisfactory that the Missions in Tokyo and the immediate vicinity soon turned the whole of their evangelistic work over to the Presbyterian committee on the ground. This plan continued in operation for about eight years. It failed at last, first, because it lacked creative power; it had no grasp on the churches, and consequently could not arouse and maintain a live interest in the work. Second, for want of administrative authority. As already said, the sole power of administration lay in the Presbyterian committee, and not in the Central Board. It was the old question, familiar to us Americans, of whether there should be a Home Mission Board with power largely centralized in itself, or whether the administration of the Church's work should be left to committees scattered here and there all over the country. The leaders, therefore, began to work for a change." This account of Dr. Alexander's is the cream of charity. But, as far as I am able to judge, the Board should be informed that others felt that the old plan was blocking and not aiding self-support, that it lost hold on the Church because the novelty wore off, but, worst of all, because the current had set toward independence of missionaries and the old plan was so uncentralized as not to work in this direction. A view that leaves these lower forces out of account will be as unjust, however delightful, as the view that is capable of seeing them alone. (3) "At a meeting of the Synod at Osaka, in the fall of 1892, it was decided to elect a Board composed of members residing in Tokyo and Yokohama which should take entire charge of the work—dispensing with the Presbyterian Committees. The Board was accordingly elected by the Synod, two missionaries being among the number chosen—and the Missions were asked to concur in the new arrangement. This they, however, declined to do, expressing their decided preference for the old plan. The result was that the Missions prevailed, and all hands worried along for nearly two years more with the old arrangement, things going from bad to worse all the time." At this Osaka Synod the spirit of centralization and autonomy was very strong. The Sixteenth Report of the Council of Missions states that the Synod began with a lively discussion of such subjects as "The unification of the evangelistic work, having the central office in Tokyo"; "The educational work—shall the several theological schools be united?" It is not right to deceive ourselves with the thought that, true and sincere as I believe the native leaders were, the general spirit of the country which has been described was not strongly affecting them. In the constitution of the proposed Board no mention was made of the prospective sources of income; all members of the Board, which was to consist of three Japanese and three foreign members, were to be elected by the Synod; the president, who was not of necessity to be a

Japanese, and the Japanese secretary and treasurer were all to receive salaries of from 40 to 15 yen a month. The Board was to absorb the authorities of the Presbyterian Committees, it being specified only that "work is not to be abandoned, or workers discharged, excepting after conference with local committee interested." The general understanding was that the Missions would continue the arrangement in existence and pay to this Central Board three yen to each one yen collected from the Church. (4) As has been stated, the Missions at their meetings in the fall of 1892 declined to agree to the new arrangement. But the conditions were very restless and disturbed. The native Church leaders were feverish and dissatisfied. The missionaries were divided among themselves. It was proposed to call a special meeting of the Synod, but only one of the five Presbyteries voted in favor of this. The Co-operating Missions decided, however, to hold a special meeting at Kobe, April 19, and 20, 1893. Fortunately, the Rev. A. Pieters, of the Dutch Reformed Mission, who had shortly before come to Japan wrote out at the time a report of this meeting with some observations thereon which I reproduce here, as it opens up the inner story of our Japan work in recent years:

"On April 19th and 20th, 1893, a Convention of more than usual interest and importance was held at Kobe. Before giving any account of the Convention itself, a short explanation of the occasion for its meeting will be in order.

"At the last meeting of Daikwai (i. e., Synod), as reported in the *Christian Intelligencer* by Rev. A. Oltmans, the plan of the Board of Home Missions hitherto followed, was laid aside and a new Board formed. The constitution of this proposed Board is printed in the last report of the Council of Missions. Although carried through the Daikwai by a considerable majority, it did not receive the approval of the missions, the most prominent of which refused to give any money to it, and it therefore died a natural death.

"One might have supposed that everything would now go on under the old plan as before; but the disturbed equilibrium was not so easily restored. It was felt by many that a special meeting of the Daikwai and of the Council of Missions should be called to discuss the situation. The project of holding a special meeting of Daikwai, being put to a vote in the several Chukwai (i. e., Presbyteries), failed of acceptance, but one out of five Presbyteries voting affirmatively. Upon the call, however, of the Tokyo Local Council of the Presbyterian and Reformed Missions, a meeting of the missions co-operating with the Church of Christ in Japan was arranged at Kobe, April 19 and 20.

"For some time before the meeting, the air was thick with rumors. In addition to the matter of the Home Mission Board, the subject of missionary reinforcements was mentioned in the call. These two subjects, therefore, were sure to come up. Besides, the Japanese press had for some time contained articles



claiming that the relations of the foreign missionaries to the native Church needed thorough readjusting in the direction of giving the Church greater independence. In the Congregational churches a definite struggle on this point was going on, and culminated in a meeting at Tokyo but a few days before the Convention at Kobe.

"Things being in this unsettled state, great interest was felt in the Convention where these matters were to be talked over, and, perhaps, settled. Now that it is over, we can say that if the Convention has not done much settling, in talk, at least, it has more than fulfilled expectations.

"The attendance of missionaries was far greater than that usually seen at meetings of this kind. Circumstances also were especially favorable, so that several of the Missions were out in force. The general expectation that a crisis was approaching, and that radical measures might be taken, brought to Kobe every missionary who could possibly come. The interest taken in the discussions was throughout intense, and at times almost painfully so, especially by the younger men, who had been much disturbed by the statements made in more than one quarter, that the usefulness of missionaries in Japan was almost, if not quite a thing of the past.

"As soon as the meeting was opened it was discovered that there was an irregularity in the call which made it impossible to regard this gathering as the ordinary Council of Missions. This was fortunate, as it at once took away all temptation to decide anything, the assembly being entirely without authority. The underlying principles and difficulties could thus be more clearly brought out and fully discussed.

"The first day and a half was fully occupied in the discussion of a resolution offered by Dr. G. W. Knox of Tokyo, 'That the conference approve and reaffirm the policy of co-operation with the Japanese Church, and, further, that the Council of Missions be advised to continue our present system of aid to the Home Mission Board. (Note, the 'present system' of the resolution is that in force before the last meeting of Daikwai). This proposition looks innocent enough, and really, that last part would not have occasioned much discussion, but the debate on the question of co-operation with the Japanese Church was made to cover all the relations between the native and foreign workers, past, present, and prospective. Considered in this light the question before the convention was, 'what attitude should the foreign Missions and missionaries, now and in the future, occupy in relation to the Japanese Church organization?'

"If the discussion which followed cannot be said to have in any sense settled this point, it has at least done much to call out the different views, to point out the lines along which the solution must be worked out. On the question of policy there were three distinct views; as usual, two extremes and a com-

promise. The view of one wing was embodied in the plan sent down in the call of the Tokyo Local Council, which was, in brief, to put all the evangelistic work now carried on separately by the Missions and the Board of the Japanese Church, under the care of joint committees consisting of equal numbers of foreigners and Japanese, the former to be elected by their Missions, and the latter by the Presbyteries. The peculiarities of this plan are:

“(1) That it would do away with all evangelistic work carried on by the Missions apart from the native Church organization. It therefore gave the Japanese a far greater share in the management of the work than they had before.

“(2) That it would do away with the Board of Home Missions. Everything would be managed by the Presbyteries; not by the Synod.

“(3) It abrogated the principle of proportionate giving; i. e., that the native Church should give one dollar to every three from the Missions. Under this plan the churches would give what they could and the Missions would simply make up the deficit.

“(4) It was avowed by those who favored it as but a step towards giving the entire charge of the work into the hands of the Japanese brethren.

“This view found but little favor in the convention. Strangely enough, not one of those present from the Tokyo Local Council, which had sent it down would say a good word for it. It was advocated by Rev. H. Stout, and Rev. T. T. Alexander of Osaka was known to favor it. Probably there were others who did not express themselves.

“As an offset to this, the other extreme was represented by a paper laid on the table by Dr. Verbeck, although he himself did not favor its adoption under the existing circumstances. The general idea of this plan was that the foreign Missions should withdraw from all co-operation with the Japanese Church organization as such. The Church was to do its own work in internal development and progress, and as much evangelistic work as it was able to do alone, and the Missions were to carry on schools and do evangelistic work along their own lines and with their own funds. The two organizations were thus to work alongside of each other, each doing its own work and tending to its own business, in cordial harmony but entirely distinct. The chief peculiarities of this plan are:

“(1) That it would do away with the Board of Home Missions and every other agency where Japanese and foreigners sit in joint consultation, directing common interests.

“(2) It would take from the foreigners all power over the disposition of a dollar of Japanese money, and do the same for the Japanese in relation to foreign money.

“(3) It would remove the reproach said to lie upon the Church in the eyes of the people, that it is an organization

propped by foreign money. The agencies of the Church might be small and weak, but they would be thoroughly Japanese.

"(4) It would give the natives all the independence they could possibly ask for. Whether they would like such independence unsupported by funds, is perhaps an open question.

"It was plain that both these measures were too radical to be adopted for the present. A compromise was the only thing possible, and Dr. Knox's motion, slightly amended in the direction of giving greater liberty to the Presbyteries, was finally adopted by a practically unanimous vote. It was doubtless the best that could be done. But after all, it is only a compromise. It does not dispose of the questions involved. These will recur again and again, and it is inevitable that either of the two diverging paths should finally be chosen. This is affirmed with confidence, because the differences of opinion manifested in the discussion of the various plans were on the second day clearly seen to be the results of a radical difference of principle in mission work.

"To the fundamental question, 'What ought to be the aim of missionaries to any country,' the two following divergent answers were given:

"I. The end of mission work in any country should be to raise up a native Church, with an efficient organization, a sound theology, and a consecrated and able ministry. When this is accomplished the work of the missionary is done. The unevangelized portion of the nation, however great, may and should be left to the care of the native Church. The churches in America might still need to assist the native organizations with funds; but as soon as an efficient native Church is established, as defined above, the work of the missionary body is over and they should, therefore, be withdrawn.

"II. The aim of foreign missionaries to any country should be to evangelize that country, i. e., to cause, if not all, then at any rate the larger part of its inhabitants to know the truth. The establishment and organization of a native Church as a means, and the most important one, to that end, but it is not in itself an end. As the missionaries have a work to perform before the organization of the native Church, so they have a work, after it has attained such a degree of efficiency that it no longer needs their superintendence. Their work is then to press on the evangelization of the mass of the people, a work that is never finished so long as a large part of the people are lying in heathen darkness.

"It is easy to say that the two views of mission work thus enunciated are not to be reconciled, and that two men honestly and consistently holding them must differ in question of policy. Accordingly the first plan, as detailed above, was inspired by the first principle, and the other plan by the second principle.

Dominated by the former of the two views, Rev. H. Stout declared that he looked forward to the time when the missionary body should be withdrawn as a matter of but five or ten years. From the same standpoint, Dr. Knox of Tokyo, Rev. T. T. Alexander of Osaka, and others stated it as their opinion that any considerable increase of missionaries is undesirable. Influenced by the second view, Rev. James H. Ballagh strongly urged the adoption of the second plan, or something like it, and Dr. Verbeck declared that he could place two hundred new missionaries to advantage.

"Because of this difference of principle, no agreement could be reached either as to the proper policy of co-operation with the Japanese Church, or as to the question of missionary reinforcements. If one takes the second view, it is evident that the work of the missionary is not done yet. Thirty-nine millions of the people of Japan are yet in utter darkness. No man at this day can estimate when the work of conveying the Gospel to these millions will be accomplished. If this is what the missionaries should aim at, many more are needed at once.

"On the other hand, if the first view be taken, the statements of Messrs. Stout, Knox and others are not unreasonable. The Church is making steady progress, her doctrine is, to some extent at least, formulated, and her ministry is educated and devoted. If the missionaries' aim is that of establishing an efficient Church, it is no wonder that some speak of the goal as in sight.

"On these underlying principles an expression from the ministry at home would be interesting and valuable. Of course they are not acquainted with the special conditions of work in Japan, but no such knowledge of special conditions is necessary to judge of principles. With what idea does the Church at home send out missionaries? Is it to evangelize the nations, or to establish churches to which afterwards the work of evangelization will be committed? In conclusion, permit me to suggest that a discussion of this point from the standpoint of the home ministry would tend to set matters on the mission field in a clearer light, and would be heartily welcomed by at least one missionary in Japan?"

I have only to add to this clear statement that the four years which have elapsed since it was written have shown that the missionary is still needed in Japan for the native Church herself, not to speak of the unevangelized millions. But attention should be called to a point to which I shall recur, that the position of the extreme co-operationists sounded to the young men who had just come out from America like the death knell of their life work as missionaries in Japan.

(5) "The next meeting of the Synod," continues Dr. Alexander, "was in Tokyo, July 1894. At this meeting it was agreed by all that a change must be made. The Jap-



anese brethren insisted that there must be a Central Board, while the Missions strenuously opposed the movement and advocated doing away with the Board altogether and the establishment of separate and independent evangelistic committees in all the Presbyteries. After much discussion it became evident that no basis of co-operation could be agreed upon so far as the matter of the Mission Board was concerned. The Synod then proceeded to elect a Board which should be in every particular independent of the Missions. The new Board was composed of ten members—one of them being a missionary. This is the Board now in existence, and which is just entering upon the fourth year of its history. It now consists of twenty members, two of whom are missionaries." The organization of this new Board was greeted in various ways. Some regarded it as a revolt against the Missions, others as a notable step in the direction of independence. It was both of these, and if now the missionaries would place themselves, their work and their money under the control of this Board, the native Church would deem it ideal. How it impressed the Missions, and what their frame of mind was at this time and in the ensuing year, may be seen from the following extract from the report of the Council, July 1895, entitled, "The Situation and Outlook of Missions":

"The Situation and Outlook of Missions.

"The situation coupled with repeated suggestions concerning changes in the Polity of the Missions Associated in the Council, serves to magnify the importance of the following questions:

"I. Under the circumstances, are the Christian Ministry and Laity (in Japan) satisfied any longer with Foreign Missions and Missionaries?

"II. Are they not aiming at entire independence from the Missions, in all things, and, therefore, is not the age of Missions in Japan practically at an end?

"III. Is not the native Church sufficiently prepared (if adequate funds were put at its disposal) to carry on successfully the work now in progress?

"IV. Is it not wise to reduce the mission forces at once, only such missionaries as are invited specially by the Japanese remaining, as under their direction acting as Treasurers of foreign contributed funds, Teachers or Advisers?

"V. Would it not be wise to abolish mission authority and legislation in every department of work; to substitute therefor Boards of management, co-operative but essentially Japanese, said Boards to be in direct communication with the Foreign Mission Boards in the Home Lands, and to be possessed of all authority and direction, including the determination of the missionary's salary, his residence, and department of work, in like manner with those of the native brethren serving under said Boards?

"Apropos of these questions, statements made by members

of this Council, largely as contributions to this report, are in place here.

"I. It is indeed evident that the time for mission work pure and simple in all the older Missions is already past. Already there are in the field scores of native workers who can do more effective work in many departments than we missionaries can, and by the additions constantly being made to the force, it will not be long before they will be able to occupy all departments. But what of our position in the meantime? I believe that there never was a time when our presence was more needed than at the present juncture. . . This does not make it necessary that the missionaries undertake to assume direction as was necessary at the beginning; nor is it necessary that they become mere assistants and paymasters to the Japanese. That there is a middle course in which, as representatives of an older Church, and a more mature faith, by their better equipment through early training and superior education, they should be enabled to exert a healthful influence upon the Church, I do believe.

"II. As to final withdrawal of missionaries from Japan, this should not be done until the Church here is prepared to carry forward the work on safe and right lines. At present the native Christians are not so prepared in at least three general directions. 1st. Doctrine. Not a pleasant subject to touch on, but they are far from being firmly established in the great truths of the Gospel. 2nd. Practical evangelistic work. They are good speakers, but often fail to get the ear of the people by neglecting plain, common sense plans of reaching them. 3rd. Finance. They have not yet sufficient funds of their own, and there are many and grave objections to turning over foreign funds to them.

"III. I believe we should plan for a long continuance of mission work because we have as yet scarcely made a beginning of the work. . . We are not here by the invitation of the people, but by the express command of Jesus, for a specific work, and we must plan for a continuance of that work until this nation is a disciple of Jesus.

"IV. The Christian work of Missions has only fairly begun. New missionaries are needed for this generation.

"V. We don't intend to transfer any authority until we transfer the responsibility with it. We keep a careful watch over our work and the mission interests.

"VI. We may hope all things for our native brethren, but there is danger yet in trusting all things to their guidance. We respect them, and we confidently look forward to see them grow steadier in faith and judgment; but we cannot yet recommend that institutions established for the purpose of Christian education be placed entirely under their control."

To this new and independent Board, organized by the Synod

of 1894 against mission advice, all the Presbyterial Committees did not at once turn over their work and the contributions they had been receiving. [“The Presbyterial Committees on Home Missions were reorganized. These were organized in at least two of the Presbyteries, in such way as to dispense with the obligation to elect members of the Mission on said committees. These committees have now been discontinued in the above Presbyteries, and consequently some of the work formerly under them has passed to the care of the Missions.” Eighteenth Report of the Council, 1895, pp. 18, 19.] Within two years all of the six had done so, save Miyagi, Sanyo and Chinzei, not all of which still hold off. And in one presbytery, Miyagi, and especially in connection with the work of the Mission of the Reformed Church in the United States (not the Dutch Reformed Church) at Sendai, difficulties arose which have had not a little to do with the last development of this question of co-operation. But before speaking of these it should be said that the situation was delicate elsewhere also, though it is very hard to make out how much of this delicacy and dissatisfaction and restlessness was general, and how much of it was due to the leaders who shape the opinion and control the action of the Church. Many of the missionaries would disagree with Dr. Alexander, that “since the organization of this Board all bona fide co-operation between the Church and the Missions as such has ceased.” They would agree to this, they say, if “bona fide co-operation” is synonymous with “financial control by the natives of mission funds and mission work, or co-ordinate authority with the Missions.” And they would admit that there has been no formal, organized conference, because they themselves have not been prepared for it and the natives will not have any, without what in the present circumstances, where three-fourths of the expenses of the Church are paid by the Missions, is “bona-fide co-operation” in the sense just defined. But they claim in many parts of the field away from the centre that their relations with the native Church and workers are most harmonious and that they confer constantly and frankly. Yet all would have to agree to the general truth of Dr. Alexander’s statement of the situation: “The management of the Church and its work has become a somewhat complicated affair. The several Missions are working alongside each other, their work oftentimes overlapping, and all of it connected with churches and preaching places which are ecclesiastically under the control of and amenable to the presbyteries. As the Missions have the money power largely in their hands, they may and often do, begin new, or abandon old work; employ or dismiss men without ever consulting the Presbyteries, while Presbyteries sometimes take action which seems to infringe upon the rights of the Missions. The boundary line between the two parties is an ill-defined and somewhat movable affair, so that there is constant danger of trespass from both sides. Of course,

this state of affairs is not due wholly to the fact that co-operation has ceased. It is in fact a necessity so long as the Missions remain in the field. But there can be no doubt that the difficulty is greatly aggravated by the present attitude of the Missions and the Church toward each other, and that it could be greatly relieved if some plan of genuine and hearty co-operation could be secured."

All of this is clearly illustrated by the difficulties of the German Reformed missionaries in the Presbytery of Miyagi. Their Presbytery did not disband its committee or surrender its authority when the new Central Board was organized by the Synod of 1894, and the German Reformed Mission continued to aid it to the extent of about 92 yen a month. At the same time the Mission was carrying on wholly at its expense and as definite missionary work costing it about three times as much as it contributed to the Presbytery's Committee on Home Missions. The Japanese did not like this disproportion. They wished the work which the Mission was supporting and conducting as mission work to be brought under the care of the Presbytery, and two years ago appointed a committee to discuss the question of the relations of the Presbytery and the Mission. Last year the question was revived. Nothing resulted. Then the Presbytery proposed that the Mission should increase its contribution to the Home Missions' Committee to 150 yen a month, or about seven times as much as the churches of the Presbytery were contributing. The Mission agreed to this on certain conditions. This did not satisfy the Japanese, and the report of the missionaries to their Board states that when it became evident that the question would be brought up again and that only profitless and irritating conference could ensue, the Evangelistic Committee of the Mission gave formal notice that they could not go further and that it would be best not to confer more upon it. The Presbytery then took action looking toward cutting off all the work of the Mission from relation to the Presbytery and deciding to dispend with the Mission grant to the Home Missions' Committee after one year. A special committee of the Presbytery decided the conditions on which preaching places or congregations fostered by the Mission might come under the care of the Presbytery: (a) Sincere acceptance of the confession, constitutions and canons of the Church. (b) Agreement to do the utmost in the direction of self-support. (c) Giving heed to the advice and instructions of Presbyteries regarding the competence of evangelists. To this the German Reformed Mission responded with the decision that its preaching places could not come under Presbytery until Presbytery could assume for them or they would assume for themselves complete financial self-support, meaning that all preaching places supported by the Mission must be independent of Presbytery, and that any taken under care of Presbytery can-



not be dependent upon the Mission for support. This abolishes organic co-operation while allowing informal conference and personal sympathy. This is in brief the account given by the Sendai missionaries. Their report continues, "As long as the missionaries on the field are required to continue members of the Reformed Church in the United States rather than to become full members of the Church of Christ in Japan, and until the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in the United States can see its way clear to paying over contributions into Japanese hands unconditionally—which time has not yet come—any formal co-operation with the Church of Christ in Japan must of necessity involve more or less of abnormality. Nominally Presbytery is a sovereign body, but under the old arrangement it was debarred from exercising its full functions on account of its financial weakness. It is only natural that the Japanese should be dissatisfied with such a state of affairs, but things being as they are, relief could be obtained only by some such action as Presbytery took last April, or by the Mission ceasing to exercise any considerable jurisdiction over its work and being satisfied with largely nominal functions. From one point of view it would be better if Presbytery had been content with the exercise of such functions as it was really entitled to carry out, meanwhile laboring earnestly to attain the full dignity of a sovereign ecclesiastical body by compassing its own financial independence. But this view of the case being unacceptable to Presbytery, the only course remaining was the one that has actually been taken."

(6) There were Presbyteries in which, if there was friction, it was not so pronounced; but the conditions were bad, and out of them grew the action of the last Synod which met in Tokyo, July, 1897. At the meeting of the Synod in 1895, at Nagoya, "the Presbyteries were directed to appoint committees to inquire into the state of co-operation between the Church and the Mission within the bounds of the Presbytery, and to report upon the same to the Synod at its next meeting." There was no quorum at the meeting of the First Tokyo Presbytery called to consider this, so that no proper report could be made from it, but the Synod took the following action: "The report of the committee to investigate the subject of co-operation with the Missions:—The committee has examined the matter of co-operation as reported from each of the Presbyteries, and since we do not observe a single instance of proper co-operation we propose the following resolution: That, whereas, a co-operating Mission is one that plans and executes all its evangelistic operations through a committee composed of equal numbers of the representatives of a Mission working within the bounds of a Presbytery of the Church of Christ in Japan, and of members of said Presbytery, be it Resolved, that a committee of seven be appointed to consult carefully with

each Mission having hitherto held co-operative relations, and further, that if it appear necessary to the committee, it shall have power to call a special meeting of the Synod." That is, the Synod held that the "co-operative relations hitherto held" have not been "proper," and defines its idea of proper co-operation. The Synod's action concluded, "The Synod having passed the above resolution respectfully requests that the Missions choose a committee to confer with the committee of the Synod."

How the matter lay in the minds of the members of the Synod will be seen from the following interview I had with the members of a committee appointed by the Synod to hold such a conference. Dr. Imbrie, Dr. Alexander, and Mr. Grant were present. After some general discussion Mr. Oshikawa said, "I speak as an individual, hesitantly, giving my own judgment, and with reverence for the missionaries and for what they have done. I present this for consideration. Not persistently, or as an ultimatum. In evangelistic and educational work there is such a thing as progress, and progress must take place on such and such lines. At the beginning the missionary was everything, and all was in his hand. Up to 1886 or 1887 the Japanese, themselves, so far as they worked, co-operated with the missionaries and worked into their hands. They were superior in financial resources, judgment, experience and influence. About '87-'88, the reaction came. Also Christianity became an organized thing and a power as an organization. Now, the reaction having come, and the Church being on its feet, the time has come to turn about and for the missionaries to co-operate with the Japanese, letting them take the lead and control. This would have great influence on the work here. I do not care how many missionaries come. The land is broad and they have a right to come. But my judgment is—few missionaries, if any. Older men, like Dr. Imbrie, who know the people are enough. Before 1888, before the crisis, there were joint committees and some real co-operation. Since the reaction there has been a change of policy on part of Missions. The missionaries seem to be forgetting the ecclesiastical power the Church has, and are now trying to get control of it by subsidizing it. This is going back to the old times before the Church became a power. The new missionaries would adopt these old principles, and do not understand the spirit, and growth and condition. I think there should be real co-operation. The evangelistic problems are too big for the Church alone. She needs the help and sympathetic aid of the missionaries. If the missionaries try to go back to the first state of things—independence between Mission and Church—they will have only trouble. This method of co-operation is the mind of our committee." Mr. Hosakawa said, "The keynote of the Synod was the independence of the Church. In pushing for this, the last thing we have desire for is to be rid of missionary or foreign influence. I would like to

have missionaries come to be full members of Presbytery. If they do not do this, they will naturally take an offish position, there will be misunderstanding. If they become members, it helps the natives and gives missionaries a closer influence over them. I want such co-operation as the Synod has defined. Such committees would be sure to dismiss many present Mission helpers. I would like to see missionaries who come from this time, train workers and do evangelistic work but try no organization, only turn over their Christians to nearest Church. I would be willing to have these men free to employ their own helpers without the approval of the co-operative committee if they wished to work so independently. But I do not approve of this as a Mission policy. It is contrary to the spirit of co-operation. The Southern Presbyterian Mission policy is this." Mr. Oshikawa added, "Our desire is to control all evangelistic work under these proposed co-operating committees. My opinion and that of others is that the work of Missions independent of Presbyteries is hostile to the genuine work and interest of the Presbytery and Church. It tends to create a missionary party, composed of men of inferior class who obey the missionary and have a foreign, exotic character. Their influence is opposed to the influence and dignity of the Presbytery. This kind of work sets the great body of the people against them. The present plan of work contradicts right principles, causes dissatisfaction, creates misunderstanding among unbelievers. Seven-tenths or more of the motives of the men whom the Missions employ are money motives. There are good motives. Some want to do Christian work as real Christians. The only way is to seek Mission employment. The native Church can't employ them. As they go out they make the impression of being supported by foreigners, and so block self-support. These men are beyond the control of Presbytery, because there are no grounds for action against them. If the Church employed them, the people would see it so, even though much money did come from America. The Church has the duty and should have the name and responsibility of doing it even though much money comes from abroad." Mr. Hosokawa rejoined, "We intend some day to carry on all our work. Let us lay out everything now so as to hasten rather than to prevent it. We will take over the educational work, too. That day is distant, and we need co-operation until then. The missionaries are foreign, and misunderstandings are constantly arising. Under the proposed plan these should diminish. The natives would guard against them and help the missionary. If, under the new plan, the missionaries become dissatisfied, let them withdraw themselves and their money." Then Mr. Kumano made the remark quoted on page 36, "The old slavish time must end, and the Japanese Church be followed, not led."

At the meeting of the Council of Missions in Karuizawa im-



mediately following the meeting of the Synod, the following action was taken in reply: "Whereas, the Synod at its late session in Tokyo adopted a minute in regard to the matter of co-operation between the Presbyteries and the Missions, stating what, in the opinion of the Synod constitutes co-operation, and appointed a committee of seven to confer with a similar committee of the Co-operating Missions on the subject, be it Resolved, that in view of individual and widely differing responsibilities, co-operation is, in the opinion of the Council, best carried out where the Japanese Church organization, in its sessions, Presbyteries and Synod, directs all ecclesiastical matters, availing itself of the counsels and assistance of the Missions or missionaries as occasion arises; while the Missions direct their own educational, evangelistic and other missionary operations, availing themselves, likewise, of whatever counsel and assistance they may be able to obtain from their brethren in the Japanese Church; and that under the circumstances it does not seem best to enter into co-operation as defined by the Synod, but to recommend (to the several Missions) that a committee be appointed of one from each Mission to confer with the committee of the Synod in a spirit of fraternal good will, for the purpose of communicating the opinion of the Council and endeavoring to promote a better understanding on the subject of co-operation."

So the place of decision has at last been reached. The course of development which I have traced has issued, as many have foreseen that it would, in bringing us face to face at last, after all sorts of makeshifts, with this fundamental problem of mission policy. The issue I am presenting in its present stage is one of the most important issues I have met on the mission field. The future of the work in Japan: the future of our work in every mission field depends upon the answer given to this question: Is the native Church to absorb the Mission, or is the native Church to grow up with a real identity from the start, robust and independent, while the Mission, retaining its identity and function as a Mission, fades away into the regions beyond and allows any fraternal subsidy to the sister Church which has been established to be dealt with on such grounds? This question must be answered right. I have met the germs of it, or the bitter fruit of the wrong answer to it in every field where I have gone.

What answer shall be given now in Japan? Let us strip the matter of all personal elements. (1) I believe in the good faith, the sincerity, the trustworthiness of the leaders of the Synod, but back of their new definition of co-operation is the temper of the people filling them, the strong desire for independence, for authority. No exception should be taken to the presence of this desire. It is a noble thing. It is just what we would give anything to have kindled in the native Churches in many lands, but it is devoid of just and right restraints in Japan. Even the best of the Church

leaders are constantly slipping into unguarded speech about it. Mr. Kumano declared in the conference held with the committee of the Synod appointed to meet me, "This is no longer the time for missionaries to control, but they and the Boards should stand off and let the Japanese control. The old slavish time must end and the Japanese Church established by the Christians of America must be followed, not led." *The Fukuin Shimpō*, the paper of Mr. Uemura, one of the strongest men in the Church and the president of the Home Mission Board, says, "Japanese Christians are of three classes: (a) There are those who are fully persuaded that the churches must give up using foreign money. The poverty of many members should not be allowed to prevent the attainment of independence. By uniting in their efforts, sinking all minor difficulties, appealing to the patriotic instincts of their friends and supporters, and by relying on industry and commerce, and even on politics for pecuniary help, a great deal may be accomplished, say the leaders of this party. (b) Then there is a large class of Christians who are in favor of clinging to the foreign missionary. Sooner or later this combination will give rise to trouble. Already in various parts of the country there is friction between native and foreign Christians. In many instances relations are very strained and agitation may be expected at any time. (c) There is another class which, in the matter of activity, bears no comparison with the converts mentioned above but who are steadfast to the last degree. Though without sufficient spirit to attack the enemy, they would rather die than surrender the fortress in which they have taken refuge. Meekly and patiently they take up their cross and follow Christ. Unobserved by the world, they drink the waters of life and are refreshed thereby. The future of the Church does not concern them. To the pro-foreign and anti-foreign spirit they are alike indifferent. \* \* The Japanese Methodist Christians resemble a regiment of soldiers in the matter of uniformity. In speech and action they are alike. Dependence upon foreigners is an established principle among them. There is no doubt something very imposing in the march of men who have acquired the habit of acting together in obedience to orders. The tone which these men adopt is one of humility. They are the great opponents of what is called *yasegaman*, endurance beyond one's strength. Opposed to all this are the utterances of the *Kumiai* Churches and the Church of Christ, whose watchwords are independence and freedom from foreign interference—in Christianity as in other things, Japan for the Japanese. How far these two elements will blend in the future remains to be seen." Mr. Kumano and Mr. Uemura are both good and reasonable men, but this is the way they sometimes speak. There are many men not so restrained or sensible. The Synod wants to be independent of foreign interference. It is self-deception to deny that. That desire is laudable, but it would make the Synod's

proposed co-operation wholly impracticable. The Synod would not be satisfied with it. What it speaks of to the Missions as "proper co-operation" and honestly believes that it regards as such, it always refers to among outsiders as "foreign interference" and would inevitably regard as such. The Synod's action is a logical step in the history I have traced. The Missions invited the native workers into their meetings and conference. The Japanese rejected that as insufficient, and every step subsequently taken has been toward independence and control. I repeat that I think the Japanese have taken each conscientiously and with a view to what they believe to be the best interests of the work, but also affirm that they would not be satisfied until the step next beyond the one they have last proposed should be taken. If they think they would, they do not know themselves.

(2) As I pointed out in connection with Mr. Pieters' account of the Kobe meeting, the question of co-operation early became entangled with the question of the work of the younger missionaries. When the movement toward Christianity was at its height strong appeals were naturally made at home for re-enforcements. The full complicated situation on the field was scarcely understood as yet and could not be made plain to the young men at home. When, in reply to the powerful appeals made, large numbers of young men were poured into Japan, they found the wave receding and were met by a view which necessitated the opinion that they would soon be useless. Their zeal was chilled, and their hopes of such a life work, as had been set before them at home, disappeared. Some of them heard others, who had been very influential in sending them out, advocating the policy of turning everything over into the hands of the Japanese and declaring that when there were 100,000 Christians, "which would be before the year 1900, they hoped to withdraw the missionaries and to leave all authority and the administration of the mission funds in Japanese hands." As one of them said, "It seemed as though we had been brought out like sheep to the shambles. In ten years our missions in Japan were to be done." As the men went out through the country and studied the situation, they soon saw how questionable was the idea that there was no need for missionaries, or that the work was nearly done, and they saw, too, that if the real work even within the bounds of the native Church was to be done, it could not yet be left to the Japanese. At Kobe, they heard Dr. Verbeck, who knew the inland conditions better than any other man, declare that it was wrong to form opinions as to the whole country from the conditions in a few cities, especially the ports, and that he could place two hundred new missionaries at once. Between the younger men and some of the older ones there came a break accordingly on two points, the need of new missionaries and the authority of the native Church over Mission funds. Some of the younger men dropped out and went home. The great majority stayed and their



influence grew, and between them and many of the native leaders who were trained under the older men and who thoroughly shared their ideas as to the immediate destiny of the Church there came feelings of alienation, where indeed there was not complete lack of acquaintance. The action of the Council at Karuizawa is in some part then the answer of these young men, and also of some of the oldest who remember the long years when this policy was in force, and who may have other motives also, to the action of the Church, which action is the proposition to move forward in line with the views which met the young men when seven or eight or ten years ago they came to Japan. Some of the young men have scarcely come in contact with the Church leaders; others may have spoken and acted injudiciously. Other personal elements which enter, Dr. Alexander speaks of in more detail in his paper, from the point of view most kindly toward the native Church, as is right, and with high ideals for the Missions, which also is right.

If then the matter were to be decided on the basis of the personal elements to be brought into co-operation it could be at once decided adversely to the Synod's proposal, because it is wholly impracticable on both sides. Mr. Uemura and others recognize this. And I have cleared these personal elements away in order to consider the question in a purely impersonal way. It should be answered on grounds that will hold for Korea, Ningpo, Oroomiah and Mexico. Viewing the matter in this light, and sweeping wholly out of sight the personal and local aspects of the case, I unreservedly believe, (1) That harm will inevitably result from a confusion of the functions and responsibilities of a Mission and a native Church. It is the business of the former to build up the latter, and to co-operate with it as long as the Mission is in the field and its co-operation is needed. But each has its own identity, and the Mission should co-operate as a Mission with the Church, and the Church as a Church with the Mission. If their lines of differing duty and character are overlooked, the dire consequences may be long delayed, but they are sure. This should be made unequivocally plain to the Japanese Church. If they are given to understand unmistakably that the Missions as Missions are to preserve their identity, and that the Church is to administer what properly belongs to it, and not the business of the Mission and the Board, we shall have taken a long step toward hearty co-operation and sympathy. So long as the native Church thinks otherwise, there will be friction and disagreement. That the Japanese Church is not fit to be trusted with the responsibilities of the Mission is not the point at all. Whether it is or not, the policy of putting these responsibilities and functions upon it is bad policy. It injures both Mission and Church, produces friction, starts a wrong education of the Church, substantiates erroneous ideas of rights and duties, and leaves all of the women's

work anomalous or out of their control. (2) That it is wiser for missionaries not to connect themselves with the native Presbyteries. The reasons for a contrary course suggested in Japan were: (a) The General Assembly and the Board advise it. (b) The Church of Christ requests it. (c) The natives are pleased with this evidence of our confidence and nearness. (d) It gives a missionary more moral grip to be on a level with them. In other fields the predominant reason, not given in Japan, has been, (e) The natives need our counsel and direction and the exercise often of our ecclesiastical authority over them. On the other hand it is held: (a) Membership confuses the distinction between the Mission and the Native Church. (b) The advice of the General Assembly and Board refers specifically to Presbyteries organically connected with the Presbyterian Church in the United States, though even with these it seems to me unwise. (c) It makes the missionary responsible to the Presbytery rather than to the Mission and the Board. He should not be subjected to their discipline nor to their supervision. It should be free to make representations regarding him to the Mission, but the Presbytery cannot discharge to him, and never attempts to, the responsibility it owes to its members. For the Presbytery to do so would be to encroach on functions of the Mission and the Board. (d) There is no advantage in membership. The canons of the Church of Christ forbid the right of voting to all save pastors, evangelists, whose work is assigned them by Presbytery, and theological teachers. This excludes most missionaries, and would exclude them if members unless they were to be directed in their work not by the Mission but by the Presbytery. (e) A missionary's responsibility to the Mission makes it impossible for him to discharge the duties of real membership. (f) It does not increase the missionary's influence. The Japanese take the man for what he is worth. His influence depends on his personality, ability and character. If we are members and antagonize the Japanese, our influence is not strengthened. (g) There are many practical difficulties and many humiliations, while there are no advantages which cannot be secured by corresponding membership. If the temper of the Japanese is such as to make these impossible, there would be no gain in full membership.

But these principles are both negative. They can avert evil, but cannot of themselves produce aught good. What is to be said positively? It is useless to consider any proposition to change our Church polity on the mission field. I have no doubt that it will be modified in time, but it could not be done now, while viewing the other churches in Japan: the Congregational which gave everything into the hands of the natives; the Baptist with its congregational polity which has given nothing; the Canadian Methodists with their curious unepiscopal system who have native preachers and missionaries all alike in ecclesiastical standing and



in consideration of work, while all are connected with the Church in Canada and the Mission retains veto power over financial actions of their conference; and the Churches with an episcopal form of government which give some more, some less seeming power to the natives, all of which is virtually taken back through the bishop—viewing all of these I do not see that the Church of Christ is worse off than they, and I do see particulars in which with its Presbyterian polity, its comparatively vigorous life and all its shortcomings it is better off. Also it is vain to wish now for a different mission heredity. What we have we have. This is the bottom fact. No plan of co-operation is at the bottom. The spirit back of things is responsible. This spirit was the outcome of the complex conditions I have tried to describe and of poor human nature. It might possibly have been modified, these conditions might, I believe, if the negative principles stated had been observed, and if there had been clear agreement on some positive principles about to be set forth. But any plan of co-operation would have failed under these conditions and spirit. As Dr. Davis says in his letter: "No plan can be devised which will work smoothly or satisfactorily, unless the hearts of all of us, especially those of our Japanese brethren, are filled with the love and the spirit of Christ, and if such were the case almost any plan would be successful."

Positively (1) almost everything depends on the personal character and influence of the missionary. He is the bearer of spiritual life and power. He must stand out for personal holiness and spiritual authority. When his position becomes such that his influence is dependent not upon these but upon the control of money, there is a fatal defect. If this condition is due to the fact that other men of equal personal character and spiritual authority have been raised up from among the natives, let him commit his work to them that they may teach faithful men also, while he proceeds to communicate his gifts to others. It may be said that this is just what is done. Perhaps, but the emphasis is not here at all. The emphasis is on administrative authority, and not on personal character, spiritual authority and the communication of spiritual gifts. It is the abominable confusion of the spiritual idea of mission work in this way that is responsible for much of the difficulty.

(2) Put spiritual and personal responsibility upon the native Christians from the outset, but not administrative and ecclesiastical responsibility prematurely. Hold these back until the spiritual life is able to stand up under them. As soon as it is, let it assume all that is properly its own, and do not encourage it ever to look forward to the assumption of what is not its own. There is a *via media* here which is the way of peace and use. Out of their bitter experience, which we have measurably escaped, Dr. Davis testifies in "Some Lessons in Japan" in the *Advance*, March 11, 1897, "Do not put all the responsibility upon the native Christians

from the start. Our Mission here in Japan did that. \* \* \* Notwithstanding our position, we have been accused by some of the leaders with 'lording it' over them \* \* and the demand has been made that we allow them to receive the money direct from the Board and use it as they please. Also that we become members of the Japanese churches, and let them send us where they please to work and direct us in our work. \* \* I make this extract (from the organ of the Kumiai churches). 'Foreign and Japanese Christians do not meet on equal terms. The former are the lords and we are the servants. The foreigners deny us the liberties they themselves enjoy. Though there is a great deal of talk about foreign and Japanese Christians working unitedly \* \* there is no hiding the fact that a form of slavery is practiced in the Christian Church.' We have given everything into the hands of the Japanese, and yet this is the criticism which a few make bold to utter. \* \* I am convinced that there is a golden mean between our course of putting everything into the hands of the first churches and the opposite extreme." (3) Preachers should be at first under the spiritual and semi-apostolic authority of the missionary. If he does not have this or the qualities which secure it, it is folly to secure it for him by ecclesiastical or pecuniary superiority. When at last a Presbytery is organized, not for the sake of securing correct ecclesiastical procedure, but because the spiritual life of the Church needs such an expression, the position of corresponding member secures to the missionary the privileges he needs. If the spiritual condition is not such as to secure these to him in this position, full membership will do him no good and will not increase his spiritual authority. If the relations in themselves between him and the native Christians are not such as to make them feel that he is one with them, full membership in the Presbytery will not produce this. (4) The constant assertion of authority, mechanical and external, is to be avoided. There are times, as things are in the Missions, where the administrative element predominates over the spiritual, when the assertion must be made. At such times it should be made once decisively and indisputably. To drag it along through the whole work and for years is paralyzing. (5) There must be a spirit of genuine confidence and love. The missionary loves the people to whom he has come, who have not yet received his word. Surely he should love still more the little flock who have heard, and he should trust them. That does not mean that he should trust them to take charge of his bank account or the Mission treasury. But his attitude toward them and his spirit must be not critical and suspicious, but loving and trustful. This is possible, while he is yet perfectly honest with himself and with them. It is not the greatest difficulty the missionary meets. (6) When the Church has once been established and the ecclesiastical authority has been set up, they must be respected. They have

their proper dignity and rights. The relation between their Presbyterial prerogatives and the Mission will be impossible of complete definition. The presence of the Mission of an alien race involves abnormal conditions, and where love is not, or where jealousy is, there will be trouble under any adjustment. Granted, however, that the main lines of division between their functions are clear, namely, that the Mission's function is the communication of its spiritual gifts and the establishment of the Church, and that the Presbytery's function is the ecclesiastical administration of the Church and the practical control of its own affairs and of such enterprises as it may inaugurate, each party acting in the confidence and trust and with the advice and counsel of the other—what shall be said of the territory where they overlap, where the work is in transition from the Mission to the native Church? The Constitution of the Church of Christ, Art. XII, declares, "To the Presbytery belongs the care of the sessions, churches, ministers, lay preachers, and companies of believers not organized as churches, within its bounds. It, therefore, organizes, transfers, unites, admits, dismisses and disbands churches; ordains, retires, transfers, admits, dismisses and disciplines ministers; installs and releases pastors; licenses, retires, transfers, admits, dismisses and disciplines lay preachers; reviews the records of sessions; gives counsel and aid to sessions, churches and unorganized companies of believers; decides references and appeals regularly presented; maintains order; carries on evangelistic work; and appoints representatives to the Synod." It would seem that any Mission co-operating with the Church, unless by some special understanding with it, would naturally recognize the prerogatives of the native Presbyteries. The Sendai missionaries, however, hold that the article contemplates the Church when freed from the complications necessarily involved in the presence of a foreign Mission, and they contend that the Miyagi Presbytery can exercise no authority or control over the preaching places supported by the Mission; that they can come under the Presbytery in any regard only when financially independent of the German Reformed Mission. There were local conditions, especially the dominance in the Presbytery of one strong-willed Japanese brother, which led to this extreme action, but I should not wish to go so far as this. So far as preaching places and companies of believers have ecclesiastical relation, they should be with the duly established Presbyteries, which, within their sphere, should have authority and jurisdiction over them, while the Mission with which they are connected should have only "practical oversight and guidance." Such a plan guarantees right distinctions and it secures all proper co-operation. It will not provide against friction. That will come under any plan if the spirit is not right. The Sendai missionaries wish all their work to contribute to the growth of the Church of Christ. They are trying to build up churches which will pass



wholly from their care to the care of the Presbytery, but until they do, they declare complete independence of the Presbytery. The exactly opposite extreme is the one the Japanese desire, to have the whole work placed under the control of the Presbyteries, even though in some of these there are none, and in some only two or three self-supporting churches. I have already expressed complete disagreement with their desire. I do not believe in its principle, and I do not believe the Japanese are able to bear it. The right course is distinctness of function but just recognition of the authority of the Church and Presbyteries. It may be that the spirit of alienation is such that no such intermediate course as suggested can be followed, until a better spirit prevails, but such a course seems to me a proper one. Under the Constitution of the Church of Christ and in a wise system of mission policy any other course is abnormal, yet the Japanese themselves declare that it is wholly out of the question. So do the Sendai missionaries. The objections the Japanese make to it are in part born of the intense national spirit of independence, their own spirit toward the missionaries, and their set purpose to attain their end. But in large part also, they rest on solid grounds of complaint against mistakes that have been made and the obtrusion of administrative authority. In part they rest on the alleged objections of the people outside the Churches to the missionary enterprise as alien. In all the conferences I noted a general absence of reference to the spiritual side, character and purpose of the mission movement. It has been swallowed up in the emphasis on "authority" or "independence." (7) There must be unity in the Missions. When two parties arise and one sides publicly with the Church in favor of its absorption of the Mission and the other becomes recognized as opposed to what the native Church is striving after and knows that some of the missionaries favor, there is sure to be grave trouble. There must be large liberty of view in a mission, and it may be that the effects of such a division as I have alluded to, are produced only by a change of attitude in the Mission as a whole, but when the question has once been thoroughly threshed out by a Mission the whole Mission should stand together, whichever view it be that may prevail. When I asked Dr. Verbeck for the first principle of a science of missions, he said, "A Mission in the foreign field should be as nearly as possible a homogeneous body and should, in all matters of missionary policy and methods as well as of doctrine, act as one body and in perfect harmony. \* \* Numerous and calamitous difficulties have arisen between the native Church and Missions solely on account of a want of unanimity in some or another of the Missions." No blame whatever is to be attached to missionaries for disagreeing in judgment, nor for striving to have what they believe right views prevail. But in vital matters of policy there must be unity, and it can be secured only by the Board's adoption of

definite principles in the fundamental matters. Then when missionaries come to the field it will be with large liberty but with the understanding that such principles are settled.

Some may be tempted to brush all of these considerations aside and to revert to the policy of confusion, on the ground that we are all brethren, made of one blood. In spirit and truth this noble creed cannot be overemphasized, but in letter it will kill. As a Scotch missionary said at the Osaka Conference of 1883, speaking of self-support: "On my arrival (in Japan) \* \* \* I felt that the Church was one, and that as the blood circulates throughout all the body, so the one spirit animates the one Church. I supposed also that sanctified money of Christian England might be transmitted (let us hope through the sanctified channel of missionaries) to help the native Church to a sanctified life. I have tried to carry out my theory. \* \* A man may confess his sins, I suppose." We are one in spirit, but we and the people of these mission fields are so different members and of so diverse nations, that nothing can justify the confusion of our diverse functions and responsibilities. Least of all can justification be found in the results. Though the missionary loves the Japanese very much, he can not be a Japanese. The Japanese will not so regard him. Foreigner he is, and foreigner he must remain. Some day it may be different: now is not then.

## 2. *Self-Support.*

The most radical and thorough going discussion of the subject of self-support which I have ever read is to be found in the "Proceedings of the Osaka Conference," in 1883, the first and last general convention of the missionaries in Japan. Widely divergent views were expressed, but at last a committee was appointed consisting of Drs. Verbeck, Maclay, Knox, Gordon and Meacham, which drew up the following report of suggestions "with regard to a practical method for bringing, as soon as possible, the Churches under our care to entire self-support":

"The committee on self-support having duly considered the subject committed to them, beg leave to offer the following report:

1. It is our opinion that the gift of money to aid in the support of the native churches is no essential part of the work of evangelizing Japan; and that hence the dependence upon foreign money, so far as it exists, is abnormal and dangerous to these churches. We do not say that pecuniary aid should never be given; but we do hold that the best interests of the churches require that such aid should be recognized by both parties as exceptional and not unattended with danger to the faith and activity of the Christians, and also to their relations to the missionaries.

2. We therefore recommend that the native churches be earnestly called upon to recognize the duty of giving regularly to the



Lord; rich and poor as God hath prospered them, providing not only for their own pastors, but for the evangelization of their own countrymen; and that they be given as much responsibility and voice in the expenditure of such money as possible.

3. It is also our opinion that no plan can be laid down which in itself will prove sufficient to secure the desired end; hence it is recommended that the missionaries individually, by their example and teaching, train up the native pastors and believers so as to form in them the habit of liberal and systematic giving.

4. We further recommend that this training of the native brethren should begin while they are still candidates for baptism; and that on the occasion of organizing new churches, an especial effort should be made to bring the subject of self-support to a practical issue."

As a general statement nothing could be more luminous. But in the feeling "that no plan can be laid down which in itself will prove sufficient to secure the desired end," no plan at all was laid down. It seems a mistake. All I have seen on the mission field proves that mere general agreement upon certain broad principles or ideals is not sufficient. There must be two or three simple sharp rules that run right down to the roots of things or the "personal equation" of the missionary, the inherited inertia of old method, the temptation to follow the lines of least resistance will develop so many exceptions to the general principles that the principles themselves might about as well be abandoned. As practical guides they are useless. In Japan the sound principles of self-support were preached as they have never been preached elsewhere save among the Karens and in Korea. The minds of the native preachers were filled with them, but there were not clean, definite applications of those principles as ruling action. It might have been enough if even in some one minor regard there had been a rule. There was none, and the consequence is that self-support ideas are as common as can be, the American Christians have gained the notion that the Japanese Church is well advanced and thoroughly established, and yet some other mission fields can show better actual results. According to Mr. Loomis's table, the 38,361 Japanese Christians gave altogether, taking the most liberal figures, 60,504 yen for all Church purposes during the past year. This same table credits the Church of Christ with 10,538 members and 16,160 yen contributions. The statistical report presented to the Council of Missions gives 8,075 as the membership of the Church, and 14,572 yen as the contributions. All of these figures are to be taken cautiously. Of the 70 organized churches of the Church of Christ, 14 are self-supporting.\* I would not depreciate what the Japanese Christians are doing. They deserve great praise. But it is wholly

\* In the strongest Presbyteries the facts were as follows; Tokyo, First Presbytery, total church expenses, salaries and rents, yen 8,995. Granted by the Missions, 4,741. Granted by the Missions for buildings, 2,194. Total native contributions, 5,311.

Whereas, The undertaking the care of such churches and unorganized bands of believers would in a very short time increase the number of self-supporting churches, and leave the various missions free to spend their strength upon the neglected places,  
Be it,

Resolved—I. That this Council earnestly requests the Synod's Home Mission Committee to undertake the care of all churches and unorganized bands of believers having a membership of seventy or more, and give what aid they deem best.

II. That the missions connected with this Council be requested to take steps for such transfers as soon as possible."

These two quotations will show that in 1896 the pressure was still from the Missions upon the native Church, but no definite proposals were made on either side.

When the Synod met this year, however, proposals were ready. It was "first proposed to make all organized churches self-supporting, the implication being that organizations which are unable to support themselves shall cease to be recognized by the Synod as churches. After a spirited discussion this motion was laid upon the table in view of approaching consultation with the Missions concerning co-operation. The advocates of self-support, however, were not content to leave the matter in this shape. They, therefore, brought up the question in a slightly different form. Their second motion proposed that all churches which did not become self-supporting within one year should be disbanded. After a full discussion this motion was lost. At a late session the subject was brought before the Synod a third time in the form of a resolution proposing that the members of Synod agitate on the matter of self-support with a view to putting all churches on an independent basis within the last two years. This resolution was finally accepted." It will be observed that the Synod did not decide to disorganize all of the churches which should not be independent in two years, but some were ready to do this at the end of one year, and it did not define self-support. That a pastor should be supported by and dependent upon his people is not the conception of self-support which many of them like. Mr. Uemura has contended in his paper that pastors should be independent of the support of the churches. He is so himself. The quotation from his paper on page 36 shows how wide is the scope allowed the idea of self-support. A body of preachers earning their living in the ways the *Fukuin Shimpo* suggests, would constitute an ideal self-supporting church to many. There is an attraction about the idea to great numbers in America. It must be remembered that self-supporting church with some of them means self-supporting preacher. It is almost to be feared with some that the adjective self-supporting might be dropped here. The thought of an ideal pastorate as we have it is rare. Various motives were operating in the Synod. I believe above

all, however, that it is sincerely and earnestly desirous of being self-supporting. I believe also that this is because of its desire for independence. Its own action couples the two things. It also implies that the Synod believes that no church should be organized as a church until it is able to be self-supporting. The Presbyteries have, of course, organized scores of such churches. All the authority of organization resided in the Presbyteries. The Synod seems to think that its Presbyteries have made a mistake. I can not trace out all the unconscious implications of the Synod's action. I will only suggest that if its present views had been the ruling policy, Sanyo and Chinzei Presbyteries would scarcely have been formed, and the Synod itself would be a much younger body than it is.

When the Council met after the Synod, a committee on self-support appointed by the Council of 1896 presented a very full and careful report which is submitted herewith. It deserves patient study. I append to it an account of the curious scheme in use in the Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North). This report was discussed with a vigor and thoroughness equal to what was shown in the Osaka Conference, and at last the following new report of the committee was adopted:

"The committee had before it for reference the recommendations embodied in the report on self-support read at a previous session; also the action taken recently by the Synod on the same subject; also the plans of self-support carried out by different missions in Mexico, as found in the report of the Conference of Mission Secretaries in America. The committee was materially aided in its deliberations by Mr. W. H. Grant, who attended its meetings throughout. The unanimous opinion of the committee is that this subject of self-support is at present one of the most important of those coming before the Council. It also recognizes the peculiar difficulties with which the question of self-support is beset in Japan, and that radical steps should not be taken too hastily, or without the greatest possible unanimity on the part of the Missions represented in this Council. The committee would make the following recommendations:

(1) That all Missions co-operating in this Council make it a rule not to aid financially any church organized hereafter; and that, in concurrence with the recent action of Synod on this subject, we earnestly labor and pray for the entire self-support of all organized churches now receiving financial aid from the Missions, within the next two years.

(2). That in aiding companies of believers, both such as are connected with organized churches and such as are not, the Missions adopt a uniform rule of not paying rent or incidental expenses.

(3) That in all new work, and as far as practicable in already existing work, the Missions be urged to make a trial of Dr. Ne-



vius' methods in the general work of evangelization: Employing fewer workers, paying no rent or incidental expenses; and by grouping Christians into circuits, to make the work entirely self-supporting from the very start.

(4) That in all cases churches and preaching places receiving mission aid be required to fill out a monthly blank, showing membership, attendance, amount and sources of all money received, and the manner in which the same has been expended; and that this blank be a uniform one for all the Co-operating Missions.

(5) Finally, that the Council appoint a standing committee of three members, on self-support, to which any matter relating to the subject may be referred, and which shall report to the next meeting of the Council."

This is a thorough going report. It is a fact of the greatest significance that the strongest body of missionaries now in Japan, representing the largest and strongest native Church, after such an experience as the Japan Missions have passed through, should come squarely and deliberately to these conclusions. The Council has no executive power. It is solely advisory, but in this case the Missions were most fully represented and the recommendations will doubtless be adopted by the Missions separately. I have argued in behalf of the substance of these recommendations in the reports presented on Persia and China. I have one more report to present to the Board, and in that these principles will appear once more, not as recommendations, but as successful experience.

It will be noticed that these recommendations view as legitimate the employment of bona fide evangelists, not quasi-pastors, nor localized preachers, but genuine under-missionaries. They propose a method of mission work vastly more difficult than the old one, but also vastly freer. They take a long step toward the substitution for financial and mechanical authority of evangelistic and spiritual leadership. And while they will remedy abuses, they will be like so much waste paper otherwise, if this evangelistic and spiritual leadership cannot be supplied by the missionaries. There may need to be more missionaries, but these, too, must be men of motion, of life, of natural authority, and of that personal holiness which in itself endues a man with the power of God. The Japanese Christians will receive of the Holy Spirit and so grow into such living bodily organization as they may need, only as men who have received of the fulness of the Spirit and are by Him filled move in the midst of them.

It will be observed also that these recommendations do not touch the subject of education, or many other subjects. They should not be taken for more than they are.

As to what the consequences will be of carrying out the plans of the Synod and the Council, prophecies might be easily made.

It will be wiser to wait. But one certain result must be considered. If other Missions in Japan continue the liberal use of money some preachers and bodies of Christians will go over to them. The best will not, but there is pretty sure to be some loss from this cause to the Church of Christ and to the work of our Missions, and also to the general mission cause in Japan. Such apostacies from any body are evil. They can only be prevented by the refusal of other Missions to receive such applicants, or better still by their adoption of the same principles. The Council asked Mr. Grant and me to press this matter upon the attention of the Secretaries' Conference this coming winter. The Home Boards can do more in this matter than the Missions on the field often. But on the field it is to be hoped that in this matter at least the spirit of true comity will deter other Missions from making the task of the Missions co-operating with the Church of Christ any more difficult than it is by holding out loaves when our Missions are calling the people to the signs.

The independent Board of Home Missions organized by the Synod in 1894 has now carried on its work for three years. The first year it opened work in the Prefecture of Nagano with two stations and one regular worker. The second year it received 1,469 yen, 156 of it from missionaries, and reported eight men in its employ, two in Shiushiu, two in Ibaraki Ken, two in Tosa, one in Nagoya, and one in Formosa. Four of these were taken on in the last two or three months of the year. The third year 1,909 yen were contributed, 211 of it from missionaries. Two men were at work under the Board in Formosa among the Japanese there, and work had been carried on at six points during the year, and two other points in Tosa province for only a part of the year. This work in Tosa was relinquished owing to lack of funds. The full report of the work prepared by Dr. Alexander is presented herewith. The last Synod instructed the Board to raise yen 3,600 for the work of the incoming year. Yen 1,500 of this was to be devoted to Formosa, yen 720 to Japan proper, yen 960 to salary and traveling expenses of agent or agents of the Board, yen 300 to office expenses, including a monthly publication, and yen 120 to be kept as reserve fund. This Board deserves the hearty sympathy of the Missions. It will be better not to subsidize it, but it is the germ of a worthy plant and should be nurtured and helped with good will and trust. Dr. Alexander says that he thinks the Board will follow in its work the same principles adopted by the Council in at least two regards, organizing no church until it is self-supporting, and paying no rent or incidental expenses of preaching places.

It may be of interest to add a comparison from Mr. Loomis's statistics:



Church.	Organized Churches.	S. S. Churches.	Members.	Baptisms in '96.	Contri- butions. yen	Average per Member. yen
Congregational....	72	35	9,863	266	18,451	1.88
Church of Christ..	71	13	10,538	579	16,160	1.53
Methodist. ....	74	3	4,387	465	7,715	1.76
Episcopal. . . . .	60	1	6,337	421	7,390	1.17

As I review what I have written on these subjects of co-operation and self-support, I am afraid that an impression may be produced by it which is most remote from my intention. It involves disagreement with the opinions of some whom I greatly respect and love, but it is only with a few of their opinions that I disagree. The missionary body connected with our Church in Japan has been a noble company, and some of its past and present members are among the ablest, truest men in our Church. No men could have met better the trying conditions which confronted them. Only, I believe that from their experience we can learn lessons for the future and for other lands. And I would deprecate any unkindly or unappreciative thought of the native Church. Its leaders have been in trying places, meeting novel problems, forced to strange adaptations, desiring all the time to do the right, and to get the best for their own people. They deserve not criticism and distrust, but sympathy and warm friendliness.

### 3. Education.

(1) The influence of the government educational system and the almost inconceivably swift change in general conditions make what was said in 1883 at the Osaka Conference regarding education seem one or two generations old. The government system itself has scarcely grown since then. Indeed, the number of educational establishments, reported in the census, has steadily decreased from 30,889 in 1884 to 25,640 in 1894. The teachers decreased from 102,944 to 70,358, although the female teachers increased from 5,011 to 5,574. The number of pupils dropped from 3,328,418 in 1884 to 2,833,350 in 1887, and then steadily rose to 3,623,725 in 1894. In '84, 87.54 pupils out of each 1,000 inhabitants were reported against 85.41 in 1894. The number of pupils who finished their studies in 1884 was 260,579, or 7.83 per cent. of all the pupils. In 1894, the number was 469,240, or 12.95 per cent. The total of the school population in 1894 was 7,320,191, so that just about one half of it was enrolled.

The schools reported in 1894 were as follows: 24,046 primary schools, 84 ordinary middle schools, 7 higher schools, one imperial university, one higher military school, one higher naval school, 47 ordinary normal schools, 2 higher normal schools, 86 special and technical schools, 13 higher schools for girls, 1,352 miscellaneous schools. The total expenses of the schools were yen 11,376,862 in 1894 as compared with 8,357,289 in 1889, while the

total receipts were 11,904,602, about two-thirds of which came from local and communal taxes.

A Japanese writer points out four stages of this educational history, (1) from the Restoration to 1872, five years, during which some schools were opened, a Board of Education formed and many plans adopted which were not carried out; (2) from 1872 to 1879 during which the American system was established, and in 1877 the Tokyo University was incorporated; (3) from 1879 to 1885, during which the American code was revised; (4) from 1885 to the present, when the old codes were superseded by a modification of the German system. Industrial education was introduced in 1893. In 1873, the number of children of school age receiving instruction was 1,180,000; in 1879, 2,210,000; in 1885, 3,180,000 (according to the census, 3,200,170); in 1884, 4,518,137 (according to the census, 3,623,725).

Various teachers in the government schools told me that the schools were crowded, and that though regularly pupils graduated from one grade had a right to enter the next without examination, competitive examinations had had to be introduced to diminish the numbers coming up.

This whole system of education is irreligious from the top to the bottom. Marquis Ito's judgment as to the view of religion taken by the educated class in Japan is quite correct, leaving out of sight the Christian Churches. The ethical teaching that is given in many institutions is a travesty. Some of it is Japanized Confucianism. Some of it is a compound of emasculated Christian ethic and Oriental indefiniteness. I asked one teacher what they taught about lies. "Oh," said he, "we teach that they are bad, but —." That lies are bad without any "but," is not in their ethics. In many there is no ethical teaching at all. The Japanese are themselves recognizing the folly of this. Some of them denounce the moral text books that are used. The *Shukeyo* declares that "the majority of school teachers are ignorant as to what true religion consists of," and "that the youth of this country are being educated without a knowledge of a true ideal life is certainly a great calamity." Another declares, "The greatest cause (of the greatest crimes) is to be found in the materialistic principle of our national education. \* \* If teachers should teach the necessity of religion instead of delivering lectures on atheism, it could not fail to greatly benefit the children." \* \* The great crimes of the present day are attributable more to the fault of educationists than to religionists." Another declares "the education wholly professional or rather material."

The only basis of ethics or religion recognized in the schools is the Imperial Rescript on Education, which is as follows:

"Our ancestors founded the state on a deeply meditated plan. while their virtues were implanted with deep and far-spreading roots; and our subjects, loyal to their sovereign and dutiful to

their parents, have all been of one mind, and have thus in every successive age been able to bring to maturity the beauty of their character. Such is the essence and flower of our national polity, and such is verily the source from which our educational system takes its origin. You, our beloved subjects, ought to be dutiful to your parents, affectionate to your brethren, loving to your wives or husbands, and truthful to your friends. You must deport yourselves with humility and moderation, while in your relations with your fellow creatures you should practice an enlarged benevolence. You should develop your intellectual powers, ripen your moral capacity by acquiring knowledge and by having some business pursuits. You should then proceed to promote public interest and give extension to the affairs of the community, always respecting the constitution and obeying the laws of the country. In case emergency demands it, you should courageously sacrifice yourselves to the public good, and thus offer every help for the maintenance of our dynasty, which will be eternal even as are the heavens and the earth. You will thus not only be our loyal, faithful subjects, but will serve to display the good character of your ancestors of old.

These are the precepts which have been bequeathed to us by our ancestors, and it is the duty alike of their descendants and of their descendants' subjects to observe them. These precepts are sound, whether viewed in the light of the past or in that of the present, and are found to be correct, whether practiced at home or abroad. It is our wish that we, in common with yourselves, laying these precepts to our hearts, may equally attain to the same virtues.

Given this 30th day of the 10th month of the 22d year of Meiji; i. e., 1889."

This rescript is posted in a conspicuous place, is dealt with as a sacred thing, and its poor husks are offered as moral teaching. Last January a student was expelled from the Yamaguchi Normal School because of "criticism made by him upon the Imperial Rescript."

But the government education is more than irreligious. It is anti-Christian. Evidence could be multiplied to show the hostility of teachers and students to Christianity. There is a great field for Christian work among them, as Mr. Mott's visit showed, but throughout the whole country their general influence is most antagonistic, in opposing the extension of Christianity and breaking up its institutions. Dr. Inouye's attack upon it as inconsistent with patriotism came from the university and petty primary school teachers take the cue. The real reasons for the expulsion of the student, just spoken of, from the Yamaguchi School, seem to have been that he was an earnest Christian. A writer in the *Japan Mail* says that the persecution against him on the part of the other students, which issued in his expulsion, rested upon

these charges: "(a) He says that 'God is superior to his Majesty, the Emperor'. (b) He tries to transform the Imperial Rescript on Education into his own ways. (c) He reads the Bible oftener than he reads his text books. (d) He said that he became more anxious to enter the Normal School after he was converted to Christianity. (e) He talked to the Sunday-school children at Yoshikawa during the last summer vacation. (f) He said that he has a great responsibility to lead others to the true religion. He is very blindly led astray into the Christian religion." Such a thing would not happen in many places, but it seems to have done so in Yamaguchi. The case illustrates also the position of the Japanese students. They endeavor to direct their instructors in the most naive way, and have made trouble in many schools, government and mission, because their views were not accepted.

Whatever mission education is undertaken in Japan is, therefore, under the conditions thus arising from the presence of a great, government-supported, irreligious, anti-Christian educational system.

(2) The statistical table of the Council shows that the Missions co-operating with the Church of Christ have 62 students for the ministry in training, 37 students in special Bible training, 290 boys in boarding and high schools, 533 girls in similar schools, 17 day schools with 1,096 pupils, with 97 men native teachers and 88 women, 34 teachers being non-Christians. The salaries of the native teachers were yen 24,871.

Our own Missions have now only one boys' boarding school, the Meiji Gakuin, which has both academic and theological departments, and which is jointly supported by the Board and the Dutch Reformed Board, not by any of the other Missions in the Council.

Our own Missions have five girls' boarding schools. I have not all the facts about the Sapporo school, which has now 31 pupils, but the following table sets forth the facts as to the other schools.

School.	No. Pupils.	From Christians Homes.	Christians.	Boards.	Exp. for Teachers etc.	Exp. for Board, Rent, etc.	Paid by Pupils, etc.
Tokyo....	130	48	53	74.	yen 1,548	3,392	2,340
Osaka....	66	3	13	14	1,311	862	766
Kanazawa.	40	13	14	24	903	607	264
Yamaguchi	21	..	9	15	624	736	372

In the case of the Kanazawa school I think that from the last two items the cost of boarding and receipts of boarding are omitted. Yen 165 of the receipts came from industrial department.

A thorough school for Bible women, a number of kindergartens, small ragged schools and evangelistic primary schools are carried on. In addition there are several large primary day schools in Tokyo, and one in Yokohama which is almost self-supporting.



The total appropriations for educational work, not including yen 3,000 or 4,000 for rents, lighting, attendants, etc., were yen 19,709. The cut would reduce these amounts about one-fourth, so that the total expense of educational work to the Missions was about yen 17,000 for the current year.

(3) Are we carrying on too much educational work, or not enough? Are we proceeding on the best lines in the work we are doing? There are some who say at once that the Missions should build up a more thorough and extensive system of education. They point to the fact that the Churches in America are not content to leave education wholly to the government, and are easily able to show that the government can still less be trusted with it in Japan. But this assumes that everything that is desirable to do should be done by the Missions. They can not charge themselves with the responsibility of supplying Japan with a complete and adequate system of Christian education. There are others who say that the government education, so far as it goes, is thorough, and that the children of Christians should take that, admitting though that there is need of theological instruction of preachers. Almost all feel, men of different views, that there are many things to be reconsidered in the mission work in Japan, and that the educational policy of the Missions is one of them. The Japanese leaders wish the Missions to spend a great deal more on education, and Mr. Oshikawa contends in an article which is submitted herewith, that the missionaries should in the main confine themselves to this work. Other articles also might be cited advocating more Christian schools and disparaging the evangelistic work of the missionaries. The great majority of the missionaries of our Missions are in favor of educational work, providing schools (a) where the children of the Church can be educated, (b) where the future ministry can be educated, (c) where non-Christian parents who want a Christian education for their children can obtain it. Some of them would include evangelistic schools, in which children could be reached with Christian instruction which they would carry to their homes, and which would become in a measure Sabbath schools on Sunday. Without going into an extensive review of the situation I would express the opinion with which all the members of our Missions would probably agree, though some would go further, that there should be at least one girls' school in each of our Missions, and at least one boys' school for the two with a theological school, and that all of these schools should be well equipped, having a definite aim, doing their work more thoroughly than the government schools, and with avowed and aggressive Christian character.

(4) A vital question which will affect the whole temper of these schools is the question of their relation to the government and to government recognition. All schools not located on con-

cessions are obliged to have Japanese heads, real or formal, who will represent them before the government authorities, who are constantly overseeing and considering schools, and in many cases keep the Japanese representative of the school busy. But this apparently can be arranged without touching the questions either of the relation of the school to government recognition, or of the part to be taken in the control of the school by Japanese. The advantages of government recognition are roughly: (a) Government license, certifying that the school has been examined and is on a level with the government school of corresponding grade, primary, middle or higher. As yet there are no mission schools higher than the middle grade. The Methodist school in Tokyo and the Episcopal school in Nara have this license for the middle grade. (b) Students in such schools have the exemptions of government students, which apparently amount to little. (c) Their graduates are entitled to enter the government school of higher grade without examination or prejudice. But as graduates of government schools now have to take examinations of entrance to the next grade above, the graduates of such schools must do so, too, and so would be on a level with students from non-licensed schools. The real advantages seem to be only that the reputation of the school is enhanced, that the parents of the pupils are more ready to pay toward its support; its graduates can rank as graduates of similar government schools, and some of the partiality and discrimination against Christian schools may be abated in their case. On the other hand there are these requirements: (a) Government visitation. (b) Acceptance of the government curriculum. (c) The omission of the Bible and Christian instruction from the regular school hours of work. In last year's Council Report it is stated that an attempt was made to get a government license for the primary department of the Ferris Seminary. "The request could be granted only on condition that the school would promise that no distinctively Christian instruction would be given its pupils. And when told that Sabbath observance, attendance at church and at morning and evening prayers would be interpreted as giving Christian instruction, the request was, as a matter of course, withdrawn." At the school of Miss Case and Miss Ballagh, the report from the latter says: "We have met with considerable opposition from individuals in the Kencho (county office). We are obliged to do all our Christian work and give Bible instruction outside of the regular school hours. They have induced several of our best teachers to leave by offering them higher salaries." On the other hand, Mrs. McCauley reported from the large schools in Tokyo as Mrs. McNair practically reports from hers this year, "The Bible is included in the hours required by the government. One hour daily is given to Bible instruction." She adds, "Both Kencho officials and officials of the Department of Education have been present during the hour and heard the

prayer, and no rebuke has been given either then or afterwards." Apparently all depends on the spirit of the local officials. In the West Japan Mission there were said to be several kindergartens wholly under the control of the missionaries but recognized by the government.

These conditions of government license I was not able to have confirmed at the American Legation, but I think they are correct. Miss Russell, of the large Methodist school in Nagasaki, told me also that no school could be opened without at least one certificated teacher, and that the government rarely allowed mission school graduates to obtain certificates. At Fukuoka the primary department of the Methodist girls' school was destroyed by an order requiring all the children of the prefecture to go to the public primary schools.

In our higher schools I believe it would be better not to aspire to government license, or rather not to descend to it. The license is hampering, and it warps the ideal and atmosphere of the school. The schools should be made so thorough as to challenge comparison and profit by it. They should be outspokenly and radically Christian and missionary. Unless they are vitally and persistently different from the government schools, there is no reason for their existence. What government requirements are necessary must be complied with, but let our schools be free, and vindicate themselves. Students will come to them without the government bait, and their graduates will be in constant and increasing demand.

(5) These schools should be under mission control. A few years ago everything ran to native principals and directors. Everything has been running away from them since. I do not believe that in this department prejudices and reactions are responsible for the change of sentiment. Japanese control was tried, and in the main it did not work. "The management of these institutions by native principals saves a deal of friction," wrote one very level-headed man in 1894. His school has been rent in pieces nearly since and is now more prosperous and powerful than ever, but the native principalship is gone. The history of the Osaka girls' school, while it needs to be dealt with charitably and with qualification, illustrates yet more clearly the course of, I think, almost every mission educational institution that has passed under Japanese control. They are not ready for such responsibility. They are often willing to secularize the school. The *Fukuin Shimpō* questions whether the Doshisha is any longer Christian. Some preachers urge the exclusion of the Bible and the abolition of chapel exercises in Mission Schools, all evangelistic influence to be exerted outside. I do not believe the leading men in the Church of Christ would tolerate such a course, but they are not yet the men to build up and to maintain the kind of educational institutions we should have, if we have any, that will command



the confidence of the Japanese Christians and be able to compare with the government schools. To this three replies may be made: (a) It may be said that the period during which Japanese management was tried was a difficult period, where the reaction against everything missionary and Christian was very strong. That should be taken into account, but my contention is that this being allowed for, the results and trial still showed that the movement was premature. (b) Some may say, Mr. Neesima showed that Japanese could be trusted in such a position. But he was supported by a magnificent body of missionaries with whom his relations were so close that he was antagonized in the Church therefor. He was an exceptional man. And both the *Fukuin Shimpō* and the *Japan Mail* contend, while not questioning at all his honesty and noble character, that the compromise between the Christian and the secular which has now brought forth its fruit, began with his presentation of the Doshisha to the Japanese. (c) Others may point to the great educational system of the government. But the government pays for that. The Japanese will control the education they support. That is not in question. Also the government system, wholly in Japanese hands, though the most powerful Christian influence surrounded its birth and childhood, is now entirely anti-Christian. And once again the schools we want ought to be better schools than the government schools.

I believe in the Japanese Christians, but not in dealing with them as though they had reached a stage which they have not reached, either in Christian character or intellectual stability. It is not kindness to deal with them as though they had. I would, therefore, and yet more because of the line of demarcation in functions between the native Church and the Mission, keep the educational institutions supported by the Missions, substantially under mission management and control, while providing for full conference, co-operation and advice on the part of the Japanese.

(6) Whether we need more than two girls' boarding schools I am not prepared to say. The Hokkaido is far away from Tokyo, and if that field develops, may justify the continuance and enlargement of the Sapporo school. If our present schools are to be maintained in Osaka, Kanazawa and Yamaguchi, they should be maintained on a solid basis, but I doubt whether we need five girls' schools which should meet the standard set up in this report. The government has made as yet scant provision for the higher education of girls. In the 84 ordinary middle schools there are 1,209. In the two higher normal schools they outnumber the boys, 430 to 348. In the 13 higher schools for girls, 2,026 are enrolled. In the 47 mission girls' boarding schools, in Mr. Loomis's table, there are 2,527 girls reported.

If the Board is unable to send more women to the West Japan Mission, it would be well to suggest to the Mission the question of the wisdom of closing one of the girls' schools and enlarging the evangelistic work or strengthening the other schools.



(7) The Meiji Gakuin is our boys' school. The last actions taken by the Board and by the Dutch Reformed Board, about one year ago, contemplated a withdrawal of the Boards' appropriations for the Academic Department. That means that the Academic Department will then be closed. The Japanese do not give anything at all to the institution save as the pupils contribute for board, etc. They will not take it up. If the action of the Boards is carried out, our Missions will be without a boys' school. The Dutch Reformed Missions have still the flourishing school at Nagasaki. It may be well to let the old Meiji Gakuin come to an end, as the Boards' action will necessitate. It has done much good work, and much of its falling off is due to the general reactionary wave, but that does not explain it all. Dr. Alexander said the Academical Department had never had the confidence or enthusiasm of the Church, though it had always been regarded as a fine place to learn English. One of the missionaries in the Academical Department said more in detail, (a) that it did not have the confidence of the common people, the preachers or the missionaries. (b) That it was decadent, its grade, students and tone having all fallen off. (c) That it was delusive to hope that the Church would or could take it up. (d) That the idea of joint control had not succeeded; it had aimed at agreement and co-operation with a view to progress and had ended in compromise with the result of retrogression.

Yet, I believe, the school has done good work. It has turned out useful men. The president, Mr. Ibuka, is universally respected, and the missionaries trust him absolutely. He is a true and useful man, of noble spirit and devotion. If the Academical Department has run its course and is to come to an end as the Boards have practically decided, it should be at once succeeded, I believe, by a new school on the lines I have advocated.

(8) If the Missions' needs for evangelists diminish because of its action on self-support, and the Synod disorganizes the churches which cannot become self supporting in two years, the necessity of theological instruction may be largely decreased. But the ministry of the Church of Christ must be a trained ministry, and provision for theological training should be made. It should be under the substantial control of the Missions. Every Mission in Japan would agree, I think, with the opinion, "There is not ballast enough in the Japanese Church yet to make it safe to put this in their hands, although they want it, and it is a very difficult question." And yet, if under mission control, there should be some way of bringing the native Church into closest touch with it. Our one mission is to contribute to the upbuilding of the Church of Christ.

There ought also to be such a unification of any advanced theological instruction carried on by the Co-operating Missions as will secure the greatest economy and efficiency. Local Bible schools of

a practical and temporary character may be needed here and there, but one theological school should suffice for all the Missions. I think the Meiji Gakuin some time ago invited the Southern Presbyterians to unite in the Theological Department. It would seem to be desirable that such a union should be consummated. An even greater advance might be made. The school should not be over-freighted, but it should be able to do thorough work, in advance of that done anywhere else in Japan.

(9) Japanese students are quite ready to support themselves. They should be encouraged to do so in the theological department, as they would do if they were studying medicine or law. Scholarships should be provided, but it would be wholesome and invigorating to have them the exception rather than the rule. In all the schools a far more advanced position may be rightly expected as to self-support than has been attained in any of the other mission fields. In this connection a question has been suggested by the Tokyo missionaries. The Manual states that where any branch of work, as a school, is in part supported by receipts on the field, the same as estimated, are to be stated on the estimate sheets with the total cost of the school, as estimated, and only the difference shall be asked from the Board. If the estimated receipts are not realized, the Board agrees to make up the deficit. If they are exceeded, the excess is to go to the Board's treasury. Now it happened that when the cut fell upon some of the schools and those in charge informed the people concerned that the work must be curtailed, the teachers and others made sacrifices which would in part at least make up the cut. But these were really excess receipts according to the Manual, which must go to the Board, and yet the donors, so distant from the Board as to be conscious of no relation to it, gave them for the specific purpose of making up the threatened reduction. It seems to me that where such excesses genuinely come in this way they should be allowed to the work, but that the beneficiaries of the work should be held up to the new scale of giving and self-support in the estimates for the ensuing year.

(10) Apparently all the schools teach English. All belonging to other Missions which I visited pursue the same course. Some give nearly half the time to English. The approach of the time when the Revised Treaties are to go into effect has stimulated the desire for English, which had fallen off somewhat under the nationalistic wave. Many missionaries have individuals or groups come to them for English much after the fashion of the early days. The conditions of Japan make English teaching, especially in living, personal contact of the closest kind, and with a view to direct spiritual impression, very different from the question of English teaching in most mission fields. It is a method that has been greatly used in Japan. "The most of those of the present generation who speak or read English," says one maga-

zine, "for example, owe it directly or indirectly to the guidance of the missionaries. We must thank them for this."

#### 4. *Evangelistic Work.*

Missionaries have long been free to travel and to reside in the interior for the sole purpose of preaching the Gospel. Some time ago one of the Dutch Reformed Missionaries living in the interior, in Kiushiu, having only a traveling passport but not a residence passport, applied for the latter, filling out his application in detail. The government officials told him to "make it simple, telling the plain facts." So he wrote that he was teaching Christianity. The government in Tokyo did not issue the passport but sent word, "Let the man stay where he is." The local officials gave him a copy of this and he has been perfectly free. So it has been elsewhere, though in most cases the strict law is complied with in form, to the effect that the foreigner must be in the service of some native, teaching him this or that branch. The new treaties are to open up the country unreservedly.

How well supplied the country is with ordained missionaries will appear from the following table, which may contain errors, but is made up from Mr. Loomis's list of missionaries and the last *Résumé Statistique* of the Government. The names are of districts.

	Population.	Ordained Miss.		Population.	Ordained Miss.
Tokio.....	1,447,839	65	Yamagata....	801,343	..
Kanagawa....	742,607	16	Akita.....	746,045	1
Saitama.....	1,137,523	..	Iwate.....	710,598	1
Chiba.....	1,237,857	..	Awamari....	587,123	1
Ibarahi.....	1,084,157	..	Kioto.....	908,261	41
Tochigi....	747,203	..	Osaka.....	1,265,587	23
Gremma....	740,492	1	Nara.....	521,610	..
Nogono... ..	1,201,297	2	Wakayama..	658,491	1
Yamanashi...	483,526	2	Hiogo.....	1,599,176	15
Shidzuoka....	1,160,258	1	Okayama....	1,100,797	1
Aichi.....	1,543,440	8	Hiroshima...	1,385,972	5
Miye.....	970,077	..	Yamaguchi...	960,324	3
Gifu.....	976,524	1	Shimane....	712,559	1
Shiga.....	699,395	..	Tattari.....	410,391	1
Fakui.....	630,159	2	Tokushima..	685,923	4
Ishikowa....	779,474	3	Kagawa.....	684,288	2
Toyama.....	787,167	1	Ehime.....	964,217	2
Niigata.....	1,788,308	3	Kochi.....	595,211	2
Fukushima...	1,012,894	..	Nagasaki....	785,827	9
Miyagi.....	808,976	10	Saga... ..	592,301	3
Fakuaka... ..	1,297,129	5	Kagoshima..	1,063,970	1
Kumamoto...	1,100,055	1	Ohinawa....	437,832	..
Oita.....	813,615	3	Hokkaido...	469,507	9
Miyasaki....	433,295	..			

Speaking roughly, there is one ordained missionary to 200,000 people. Adding all the ordained native preachers, would give one ordained man to about 100,000 people.

Is there need for any more missionaries? If the 113 men connected with Missions whose converts number 7,236 were con-

nected with the four Missions, the Co-operating, the Episcopal, the Congregational, the Methodist Episcopal North, which number 151 men and 31,125 converts, there might not be. The work could be so much more efficiently and economically provided for. Unfortunately, however, they are in a score of Missions which, however excellent the work they are doing, are working altogether disconnectedly and not even striving to make one definite impression and to attain one definite end.

As it is I believe there is need of keeping our Mission ranks full of men who will go out among the people, the choicest men to be found, men who will thoroughly master the language, of solid and commanding attainments, but even more of the unmistakable spiritual character and authority. Their work should be the substantial work of a missionary anywhere. Japan is a tempestuous land, and the currents may wheel about again and with greater violence than before rush men into the kingdom of heaven. No one can tell. But our work should be free from all catastrophic ideas. It should not cry "Crisis! Crisis!" It should lay foundations broad enough to stand the beating currents if they return, and quietly and temperately enough to keep us satisfied even though the work seems to move but slowly. Let us cease to look at Japan as presenting problems and conditions essentially different from those presented elsewhere, or the Japanese people as essentially different save in this that they are more adaptive, and that they can turn completely about more quickly.

Missionaries are needed and will be needed for a long time to come to build up, to enlarge, to buttress and train and ballast the native Churches, to preach the Gospel to the poor and to the rich, "in season and out of season, sowing beside all waters, in his home, by the wayside, renting a place to stand in, some room on a busy street, or touring in the interior: forty millions nearly are ready and waiting to hear." They will not hear if the missionary goes away. No amount of subsidies in the hands of the native Churches will atone for his departure. There is a purpose, a fertility, a will, a reliability about him that has not been developed yet in Japan and that dollars will not buy. To think that the Chinese-Japanese war shows that these qualities have been developed in Japan, is misleading. To knock down a straw man when he is not prepared, and to be very much frightened in doing it, is not a full test of skill and staying power.

I believe in the native evangelists and preachers, but as a rule they are not the equals of missionaries for setting the tone and for work, constructive, abiding work. What Dr. Alexander says in his statement about the high abilities of the leaders of the Church is true, but they are not doing the work that as a simple matter of fact the missionary does. Some of them are rendering really brilliant, useful, effective service, but much of it is on the house top. The work needed is down among the foundations.



Even a missionary of moderate abilities, if he is a solid, spiritual man, can do useful work there. It may not be much known, but it will be laid into that Corner Stone apart from which no good building is done, and which abides.

### 5. Comity.

Of Comity in the matter of self-support, mention has been made already. In the matter of friendliness among the missionaries of different bodies probably little is wanting. As far as the missionaries themselves are concerned, the following agreement, number six, in a report on comity presented in October, 1890, to the Missionary Association of Central Japan is in great measure adhered to. Some members of several evangelical missions are continual violators of it, but the great body would recognize it. "That where work is carried on side by side, no attempts should be made directly or indirectly to induce Christians or Christian workers connected with one body to join another, or to influence catechumens under instruction in connection with one Church or Mission to receive baptism in another; and that the greatest care should be taken not to receive from another Church, members in good standing without the usual commendatory letter, or a certificate of Christian character, or to recognize those under discipline in another Church without the fullest investigation, nor until after direct communication with the pastor or other responsible parties concerned."

There might be room for comity in the matter of education. The Cumberland Presbyterian school in Osaka, it was suggested, might be willing to combine with our girls' school there. This would be economical, it would promote efficiency, it would be Christian. And elsewhere, in the establishment of schools by the Co-operating Missions, I believe it would be better to take up work in new places and to use the educational institutions of other Missions in places where they are already occupying the ground.

I believe in advanced ground in the matter of comity. Lectures given by the members of one Mission on the differences between their Church and other orthodox bodies surely cannot be as conducive to the real interests of the cause of Christ in Japan as the proclamation of the many and essential points of agreement. And beyond these other things, some feel that the time has come, now that the work is settling down to a solid campaign, for some better division of the field. As it is, each of the four chief Missions—the Co-operating (all the Presbyterian Missions working with the Church of Christ), the Congregational, the Episcopal, and the Methodist Episcopal North, is covering the whole country. The Co-operating Missions have it well parcelled out among them. The Northern Presbyterians are in the Hokkaido; the Dutch Reformed have the northern end of the main

island; the German Reformed are south of them at Sendai. Our Mission and the Dutch Reformed are at Tokyo. The Southern Presbyterians are north of Osaka and on Shikoku. The Cumberland Presbyterians, who are Arminian in theology, but who send their young men to the Meiji Gakuin and are satisfied, are in Ise. Our missionaries are on the west and south coasts, and at Osaka and Kyoto, in the main island. The Dutch Reformed have Kiushiu. The other Churches are working side by side in many of these fields, though as a rule avoiding one another's specific territories.

A plea for a better division was made by Mr. Warren of the C. M. S. at the Osaka Conference, and there appear to have been understandings of various kinds informally made which have been disregarded with what were always conscientiously believed by those disregarding them and often acknowledged by the other party to be sufficient reasons. But taking the country broadly, there is no general apportionment of it among the societies. Perhaps it is impossible now to make any division. But the withdrawal of foreign subsidies from the organized native Church will tend to Church unity, and Church unity as it comes will make a redistribution possible.

The consummation of unity between the Church of Christ and the Kumiai churches was once on the near point of attainment. If it had been attained, it is doubtful whether the element that has come through all these trials and stands firmly for orthodox teaching in the Church of Christ could have withstood the tremendous current toward liberalism. Even if they had kept their own faith they would have been unable to check the headlong rush against supernaturalism.

The most that can be done now probably is to strive in small towns and villages and country districts to gather all of the Christians together into one church. This surely should be done rather than that several feeble little bodies should be maintained in an atmosphere of denominational discrimination.

## 6. *Property.*

Off of the concessions all our properties are held perforce in the names of Japanese, sometimes in the names of two, three or four, often in the name of one. In some cases papers have been drawn up, which are not registered in any way, and have probably no legal force, certifying that the property is held for the Mission and signed by the Japanese in whose name the title stands. Mr. Gardiner, the property agent of the American Episcopal Mission, told me that they arrange all their titles now with triple security. (a) By taking a promissory note from the men in whose name the property stands, promising to pay at the end of three years the amount received, or to turn over the property then or when the treaties allow. (b) A registered deed in names

